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New Jersey and The Netherlands

E. L. C. SCHIFF

Mr. President, Mr. Governor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like first of all to thank you for the kind way in which you have received me here at Princeton, and to express my sincere thanks to Governor and Mrs. Meyner for the wonderful reception at beautiful Morven. I am particularly grateful for your kindness since I know that it has been quite a disappointment for you that the Ambassador, Dr. van Roijen, was unable to come at the last moment. It was also a disappointment for Dr. van Roijen himself, for I can tell you that he has looked forward to being with you with keen anticipation. However, you also know that Dr. van Roijen had to stay in Washington in connection with the funeral of the late John Foster Dulles.

With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to express here, at Princeton, where the former Secretary of State graduated 41 years ago, the feelings of sincere sympathy which animate all of us at the Netherlands Embassy and, indeed, the Netherlands Government and the Netherlands people, at the grievous loss

The Address here printed was delivered on the occasion of the third New Jersey Dinner of the New Jersey Historical Society at Princeton, May 27, 1959. Mr. Schiff, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Netherlands Embassy in Washington, kindly took the place of Dr. J. H. van Roijen, Ambassador of the Netherlands to the United States, who was unable to be present.

which has been suffered by your Government and your people by the passing of this fine man who was a great public servant, a great statesman and a staunch champion of freedom and justice.

I am very happy to be here tonight and to participate with the New Jersey Historical Society in its celebration of the 350th Anniversary of the landing of Henry Hudson in the New World and more specifically in New Jersey. My task in speaking to you tonight has been greatly facilitated by the fact that you have had the wonderful idea of publishing a reprint of parts of the famous Journal of Robert Juet, describing in detail the adventures and experiences of Henry Hudson and his good ship the Half Moon. I may seize this opportunity to express our admiration for this publication, which was edited under the distinguished direction of Mr. Lunny and introduced by such an authority on the history of your great State as Mr. Cunningham, whom you have so rightly honored here tonight.

Juet's Journal shows that it is most appropriate for the New Jersey Historical Society to be among the first to celebrate Henry Hudson's achievements in this hemisphere. For Juet writes that on August 29, 1609, approximately one week before the Half Moon arrived in the waters off Manhattan, the vessel's rudder struck a sand bar in Delaware Bay under the New Jersey shore. It is difficult to identify running aground, always considered one of the worst things that could befall a ship's master, with a landing, but in this case it was undoubtedly the first contact between a ship of the East India Company and what is now the State of New Jersey.

A week after this mishap, during their first days of exploring the Hudson River estuary, the ship's company did land on New Jersey territory. One of their trips, described by Juet, was presumably made through the Kill Van Kull. It ended in disaster when, on the way back to the Half Moon, the boat was attacked by Indians, resulting in the death of one John Colman, a crew member. If we compare this crude behavior on the part of the local population with the gracious hospitality with which we Dutchmen are greeted today upon our arrival at your shores, we cannot but acknowledge a vast progress in human relations.

Now in all fairness, I must add that the members of the reconnaissance party to which the unfortunate Colman belonged

did not allow this attack to influence their opinion of the things they had seen. Juet writes about their impressions: "The Lands they told us were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them." Some days earlier, while sailing north along the New Jersey coast, Juet had noted himself that the country was "a very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see." These observations make it clear that what is now the State of New Jersey must have earned its name of Garden State long before the magnificent improvements upon nature of which only modern man is capable and which are here for all of us to see today. If there has been an unfavorable change since the days of Juet, it might be the sweet smells, which at least in the vicinity of the Kill van Kull have been replaced by smoke and gases, the inevitable companions of an impressive industrial development.

While reading about the history of the relations between New Jersey and the Netherlands, I was struck by the fact that early developments in those relations seem to fit in quite well with certain characteristics of American history. I may explain this by recalling a special issue of *Fortune* published some years ago under the title: "U. S. A., the permanent revolution", in which the theory was developed that the American society had always been and—in sharp contrast with the static communist system —still was—and, I should add, is, engaged in constant change, renewal and revolution, as a result of the democratic way of life. I am inclined to agree with this view. Moreover, it seems to me that this revolutionary spirit was very much in evidence in the first contacts between our countries.

Its first manifestation came when the Half Moon was still moored in the harbor of Amsterdam. When Henry Hudson complained about the way his ship was being equipped, the Zeeland Chamber of the East India Company warned the Amsterdam merchants: *"Begint hy hier onder onse oogen te muyteneren, wat soude hy doen als hy van ons waer?,"* which might be translated as: "If he is starting to mutiny here already, under our very eyes, what will the man do when he is far away from us?."

These misgivings were quite justified, for Hudson, who had been instructed to find the northeastern passage to China and

the Indies, sailed west instead, after an abortive attempt to carry out his orders. It is true that he was acting under pressure from his mutinous crew, but it would seem that he himself also preferred the exploration of a passage in western direction. However this may be, we are greatly indebted to Henry Hudson for this decision, and all the more do we deplore his untimely disappearance when, during his next voyage, his crew once more mutinied, this time with fatal results for the explorer himself.

Although in subsequent years a number of Dutch ships crossed the Atlantic, it was only after the establishment of the West India Company that settlers moved to New Netherland from the mother country. This company was founded by merchants who rebelled against the monopoly of the East India Company in the trade with Asia and who preferred to turn westward and set up trading posts in this continent. These merchants were mostly interested in the fur trade, which did not prevent them, however, from steadily pushing inland from the banks of the Hudson and Delaware Rivers.

I feel that New Jersey—and the Netherlands too, for that matter—can be justly proud of these early settlers. They appear to have been more independent-minded than some of their neighbors in Manhattan. Sometimes they found themselves, quite justifiably, in open conflict with the early governors like Kieft and Stuyvesant. When in 1665 New Netherland and its Dutch inhabitants had been forced to submit to English rule, which—let us frankly admit it—was, at least in the beginning, pretty dictatorial in character, the settlers with the strongest urge for independence and freedom moved to New Jersey. Settlers such as these displayed all the vigor and stability which marked the world-wide activities of the Dutch Republic during the 17th century: they are the same qualities which have played and still play such an important role in the life of your State today.

This desire for independence later manifested itself once again in New Jersey in the matter of religion. It is perhaps not inappropriate to mention in this connection that it was a famous ancestor of the present distinguished president of this society, dominee Theodore Frelinghuysen, who, with his brother John, played an important role in persuading the Church in Holland to agree to the establishment of an independent Dutch Reformed Church

in America, and, especially, of a college for future ministers. It is sad to note that Theodore Frelinghuysen did not live to see his efforts crowned with success when during the 1770's both wishes were granted. This episode also signified the end of Dutch as the language of the Dutch Reformed Church. Nevertheless, the Dutch language maintained itself for a long time in northern New Jersey, if only as a dialect, and I have been informed that even now traces of our languages can still be found.

I have mentioned these examples of the spirit of independence which animated your ancestors—a spirit which was so abundantly displayed during the American revolution—, because I like to think that herein lies the foundation for the strong bonds between the Netherlands and New Jersey.

These bonds were movingly demonstrated when the liberation of Holland from French occupation in 1813 led to a great celebration in New Jersey. I know that many people here rejoiced when my country was again liberated from foreign tyranny at the end of the last world war. The spirit of freedom is certainly the most cherished part of our common heritage.

Now, going back for a moment to the year 1609, I should like to say a few words about the early contacts with the indigenous population. Juet tells us of friendly encounters with the Indians who even visited the ship, mainly out of curiosity but also in order to trade their furs and food for all kinds of "trifles". These Indians were received with much wariness: Juet writes that he and his companions "durst not trust them". The incident which cost John Colman his life showed that this lack of faith in the intentions of the Indians was justified.

On the other hand, we cannot deny that on the opposite shore of the Hudson River our ancestors definitely got the better of the local population when they acquired Manhattan for goods worth about twenty-four dollars. It should be realized, however, that this famous transaction had presumably very little meaning for the Indians themselves, who were primarily hunters and fishermen. The directors of the East India Company were the ones who attached importance to this purchase, for, being legal-minded men, they considered it necessary to have a legal document in their files before making Manhattan the strategic center for their trade in New Netherland. They got their title at a price of 1000

acres to the dollar—an interesting deal under any circumstances—and one wonders what would have happened if we had held on to this inexpensive piece of real estate.

Still, it was trade the United Provinces were interested in, not the conquest of foreign lands. This was demonstrated at the time of the Peace of Breda of 1667, when the Republic decided to exchange Manhattan for Surinam in South America. I may remind you that Surinam is now an autonomous part of our Kingdom, equal to the two other parts, the Netherlands Antilles and the Netherlands proper.

The early settlers stayed in the coastal areas, where their overseas communications, so vital to their trade, were assured. Trade was their only objective, at least during the early stages of the settlements. It is curious to note in this connection that in the case of Australia, which was mapped by Dutch explorers who sailed right around the continent, this first exploration was not followed by the establishment of settlements, evidently because there did not appear to be any attractive commercial prospects.

It is a gratifying task to dwell on Dutch influence in New Jersey. For the early settlers have left a large number of cultural traces, in architecture, in some of the furniture, in the gardens —they are known to have grown many flowers, among them tulips, of course—brought over from Holland. Their most important contribution, however, would seem to have been in the closely related fields of religion and education. The construction of churches and schools was simultaneously undertaken at an early moment; "dominees" and teachers were invited from the old country. I am reminded of Rembrandt's moving portrait of his mother, an old woman devotedly reading her Bible, which was possibly the only book she had ever known. It was the essence of Dutch Calvinism that one could and should read the Bible. Religion was based on literacy. I like to think that the early passion for education resulting therefrom has been at least partly responsible for the great achievements of New Jersey's educational institutions, its universities and colleges, in later years.

I have said a good deal about our common history, but I should like to emphasize also that, although the Dutch take much pride in their history, they are, like the Americans, essentially a people looking toward the future. I am happy to report that the vigor,

skill and persistence with which the early Dutch settlers—your ancestors—started a new life here and which continues to mark the activities of the State of New Jersey and its inhabitants, are still to be found in the Netherlands as well. Although we have certainly not lost our interest in other continents—the contrary is true—we have also done some exploring in our own country. We have found that it was possible to change not only the map of the Netherlands but also the character of our economy. We are increasing our industrial output on an unprecedented scale in order to provide for our ever-growing population. We are also engaged in the rewarding efforts of building a closer community in Europe, and of establishing, together with five other western European nations, a common market for our products. It is an interesting and promising development that so many American firms are now settling in the Netherlands in order to participate in this new endeavor. Our relations with the United States are closer than ever before, for there is in the Netherlands a strong awareness of our Atlantic interdependence, an interdependence that is based on our common history and culture, and inspired by the common ideals which have bound us through the centuries.

This does not mean, of course, that we have no complaints. One can look back with nostalgia to the good old days when Henry Hudson, in his trade with the Indians, did not meet with the obstacles of import duties or quotas for the "trifles" he had to offer. The situation today is a far cry from those idyllic conditions. While, as a result of a liberal trade policy, Netherlands imports from the United States are increasing from year to year, we find it increasingly more difficult to expand our exports to your country. These exports are the only means at our disposal for earning the dollars we need in order to pay you for your exports to us.

There are, of course, other subjects on which we do not quite see eye to eye, but most important of all is the fact that the Netherlands and the United States must stand and, indeed, are standing together. The closest possible co-operation with the United States is the best insurance we have for our survival in this era of tension and danger. We are proud to have you as our ally. We are equally proud of having been able to make our contribution to the founding of your great nation, in which the State

of New Jersey has played such a tremendously important role. I am very happy to have been able tonight to testify to our feelings on this score.

Please allow me to terminate these remarks by extending to the State of New Jersey and to its distinguished Historical Society our best wishes for a successful and prosperous future.

The New Jersey Whig Campaign of 1840

WILLIAM J. CHUTE

THE matter-of-fact person might easily jump to the simple conclusion that the New Jersey Whig victory of 1840 was purely the mechanical result of the suffering which followed in the wake of the Panic of 1837. A disgruntled electorate was merely voting against the Democratic party in which it had lost faith. The defeated party had reaped the inevitable blame for the long trial of bank failures, bankruptcies, and farm foreclosures. But Jersey elections are seldom that simple. A thorough study of the event indicates that such an analysis is superficial at best. On the contrary, because the strength of the two major parties in Jersey was so evenly divided, no campaign could be predicted. The question remained in the shadows until the ballots were counted; and then it was still a question of who did the counting. Despite the low wages for workingmen, despite the scarcity of capital and credit which brought commerce to a halt,[1] the fact remains that in the previous year, although the state offices were distributed among the Whig candidates, the Democrats sent five Representatives to Congress. The truth is this—that the victory was won because the Whig leaders deliberately stole a page from the Jackson political handbook and turned their opponents' successful tactics against them.

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[1]Credit was so unsettled in New York City that George Templeton Strong noted in his diary that "as matters go in these times, I'd hardly trust John Jacob Astor with twenty dollars unless secured with real estate worth a hundred." Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York, 1952), I, p. 131.

For some time before 1840 the Whig leaders had been examining closely the past elections and had come to the obvious conclusion that their methods of campaigning were inadequate. Appeal to reason, it was asserted, seemed to hold little appeal for an electorate swollen in recent years by newly enfranchised voters. "King Numbers" deplored the discussion of difficult issues. It hungered for a good show of exposures, words of passion and slander garnished with sparkling mottoes, catchy slogans, noisy bands and parades. The old system was no longer tenable; new methods were indicated. Politics must be the road to office, not the road to truth. Persuasion and not analysis was the proper political procedure of the times. It was the realization, as Ambrose Bierce later argued, that applause was the echo of a platitude. So well did the Whig leaders put into practice the political methods of their opponents and so effectively did they turn the tide that the Whigs carried the State for the next twelve years. Furthermore, the national Whig party felt an obligation to nominate for the second place on its national ticket in 1844 a prominent New Jerseyman, Theodore Frelinghuysen. How this was done deserves discussion.

According to Horace Greeley, this reversal of policy was inspired by a stubborn resolution by party leaders to avenge the caustic scorn typified in the words of Dr. Alexander Duncan of Ohio, one of the Democrats' more effective orators, who said that "you Whigs achieve great victories every day in the year but one, —that is the day of election."[2]

To promote their cause the Jersey Whigs established in Trenton their own newspaper, the *State Gazette,* printed by Sherman and Harron. It was formulated somewhat in the manner of its contemporary the *Log Cabin,* edited and published by young Greeley, who was then beginning his long journalistic career. Other newspapers supporting the Whig cause were the *True American,* the *Newark Sentinel,* the *New Brunswick Fredonian,* and the *Sussex Register.*[3]

Obviously, a political attack could not be waged directly against

[2]Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), p. 133.

[3]In so far as the *Gazette* was a Whig instrument, and as most newspapers, after the fashion of the day,copied items from other newspapers of similar political complexion, I have found it convenient to refer to it constantly rather than a series of other journals.

the principles of Andrew Jackson; he was the untouchable hero of too many common voters. But the royal touch of "King Andrew" had not been passed on to his successor in the White House, Martin Van Buren, or his henchmen. It was the task of the Whigs to show that the "Little Magician" had been hewed out of a more twisted, if smoother, timber than "Old Hickory"[4]; or to indicate, as the picturesque coonskin-capped Davy Crockett had said years before, that "Van Buren is as opposite to General Jackson as dung is to a diamond . . . It is said that at a year old he could laugh on one side of his face and cry on the other, at one and the same time . . . "[5] Perhaps, by blaming every economic and social catastrophe on Van Buren alone, the Whigs might coax away from him in the tidewater counties (where administration loyalty was inspired, traditionally, only by the promise of customs house patronage) enough Jacksonian Democratic votes to win the election.

Strategy and Log Cabins

Fortunately for their purpose, the National Whig Convention which nominated William Henry Harrison and John Tyler had failed to decide upon a national platform, allowing the Whigs of New Jersey to concentrate largely upon local issues. From the outset, too, the Whigs gathered the support of an organization calling itself "the Democratic Whigs", whose members had severed their traditional party affiliations for a multitude of personal and political reasons. The Newark *Daily Advertiser* happily published during the campaign a list of voters in Orange township who had supported Van Buren in 1836 but who were now going to cast their ballots in favor of the Whig ticket. One seceder, Aaron O. Boylan of Newark, was bold enough to speak of "the common interest in the welfare of our beloved and once prosperous country, which I firmly believe is now brought to the

[4]"Our Van Buren friends got together last Saturday afternoon and raised an elegant hickory pole in Hanover street . . . Doubtless the Van Buren men view it as an appropriate emblem; but to our jaundiced vision, its towering height seems an insult to the *little magician,* its perfect straightness a reproach to his tortuous course, and its stubborn, unbending hickory a broad contrast with his pliant subtlety, so often typified by the slippery elm." *State Gazette,* April 13, 1840.

[5]Quoted in James E. Pollard, *The President and the Press* (New York, 1947), p. 187.

very verge of destruction by the intrigue and dishonest maneuvers of the leading Van Buren men and office holders. . . . "[6] This was a declaration which set forth the motive of other "Jackson" Democrats. Similar groups from other counties followed. Far more important was the defection of two influential men in Jersey society who had formerly been closely associated with the Democratic administration in Washington: Congressman James Parker, of Perth Amboy, and Captain Robert Field Stockton, one of Jackson's most intimate friends, then on furlough from the United States Navy. Parker had become disgruntled with the administration's failure to support a tariff bill for the protection of Jersey industries.[7] Stockton contended that he could not sit idly by while the sovereignty of his State was being trampled upon by the administration. To encourage other conservative Democrats to break with their former affiliation, the Whig leaders wisely maintained throughout the campaign that it was only the radical, anti-bank faction of the opposition party, the "Locofocos", which they were fighting.[8]

To direct their political contest the Whigs set up a State Central Committee consisting of John Howell, James Wilson, Ralph H. Shreve, Orrin Bailey, and Zachariah Rossell, who unfortunately died in July before he could know of his victory. The committee first recommended that each county organize a Tippecanoe Club; and to assure easy communication with each other and with similar out-of-state clubs a Committee of Correspon-

[6]*State Gazette,* July 29, 1840.

[7]See Parker's letter to the editor, *State Gazette,* August 24, 1840. He was also angered by the President's refusal to pay the second installment of Distribution. The Distribution portion of Henry Clay's American System had been authorized by Congress in June 1836. It provided that money received from the sale of western public lands would be distributed among the several states as a loan for internal improvements such as state road and canal building. The economic depression that followed the Panic of 1837 brought the sale of western lands to a standstill. Only the first installment was distributed.

[8]Congressman Seargent Smith Prentiss, a brilliant Whig orator, discussed the New Jersey situation before an audience in Portland, Maine. At that time he attempted to define the term "Locofoco." "But here let me say that I take a wide distinction between Democracy and Locofocoism. I believe, the great mass of those who have supported this Administration are honest men, and suppose themselves to be genuine democrats. But for the guides, who have misled and deceived them I have no such respect. They have concocted a system of politics which I term Loofocoism. It is politics boiled down, so to say, and distilled into a poisonous drug . . . They are like the Cornish wreckers, who hang out false lights to allure and deceive the ill-fated mariner; so do these selfish demagogues delude the people by their false and wicked doctrines." *A Memoir of S.S. Prentiss,* Edited by His Brother (New York, 1886), II, pp. 168-169.

dence was established, reminiscent of the struggle for American liberty growing out of the infamous Stamp Act of Revolutionary days. To stir the ardor of youth, the young men of the state were organized into a Young Whig Association with the ringing motto "the old for counsel and the young for war."[9] So spontaneous was the response of young Whigs that when they met in their State convention at Princeton, March 15th, to elect Robert E. Horner chairman and Job. G. Olden secretary, their numbers amounted to some 10,000 young men. They paraded through the streets singing "Old Tip" to the tune of the "Old Oaken Bucket."[10]

The campaign warmed up slowly. In fact, it was literally frozen to a standstill during the winter months by weather so bitterly cold that only the oldest persons living could remember another season like it. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, a widow for almost forty years, could recollect that only the winter of 1790 was so bad. But with the spring thaw the campaign also began to warm up in earnest. In one of those rare occasions where a knock was really a boost, the Baltimore *Republican* in an ill-guarded moment scorned Harrison's pretensions for the Presidency, and derisively suggested a suitable alternative of a pension of $2,000 and plenty of hard cider consumed in a rural log cabin. The Whigs, with a humility which was the reverse of their true nature, confessed that actually their candidate was truly identified with these simple symbols of the common man. "King Numbers" was delighted. Log cabins were thrown up in the center of many New Jersey towns, and parades beckoning the multitude with brass bands marched gaily with ever increasing numbers to the doors of these cabins to imbibe free hard cider. The temperance societies protested in vain. The opposition press tried to hold back the tide with as little success as that of old Canute. It reported that the Whigs of Trenton poured out so much liquor to an intemperate mob that often there were so many drunks that there was not enough room in the backyards to lay them out. The only visible result of these complaints seemed to be to advertise the spots where free drinks might be consumed.

[9] *State Gazette*, February 14, 1840.

[10] John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1906), VI, p. 566.

The Log Cabin campaign was a symbol that captured the imagination of the nation, but other issues designed to stir up emotions and to cloud the main issues were mingled with it. The editorials and orations of the Jersey Whigs were filled with warnings against "the rank agrarianism" of Locofoco speeches.[11] They were sprinkled here and there with frightful references to the threat to a republican form of government posed by a large national standing army, which had already shown its unfeeling brutality in carrying on an expensive ten years war to exterminate the Seminole Indians of Florida. President Van Buren's "Locofoco" plan for an independent treasury was denounced as a deliberate attack upon American finance and business. Little attention was given to the issues most dear to the aspirations of the Whig leaders, such as a third national bank, a tariff for the protection of Jersey industries, and the distribution of funds from the sale of western lands for the support of internal improvements.

A survey of the issues points unmistakably to the fact that the Jersey Whigs believed that three points of emphasis would bring in the most votes. First, that the Van Buren administration had corrupted honest government and the general welfare in New Jersey through its immoral use of Federal patronage. Second, that although the Locofocos professed warm affection toward the common man, their leaders in New Jersey were often old Federalists who deceitfully held the people in contempt. The third point of emphasis, which was given the most space in the newspapers and speeches, was the most burning issue of the campaign. It was the accusation that the present Washington administration had contemptibly violated the sovereignty of the state in the so-called "Broad Seal War," with which the conscience of Jersey was then boiling.

Federal Patronage

The corruption issue, an old one in the state, involved the authority of the victorious party to distribute patronage in the form of numerous postmasterships, customs collectorships, revenue collectors, judgeships, and thousands of petty Federal offices as "spoils" of the political battle. This procedure often led to envy

[11] *State Gazette*, January 23, 1840.

and corruption. As Governor of New York and designing head of the infamous Albany Regency, Van Buren had developed the use of patronage to the position of a craftsman's art. It was not difficult to seek out the workings of his art in New Jersey. In February the *Gazette* discussed editorially a document recently disclosed to the House of Representatives by Rice Garland of Louisiana, "showing that there was now in the hands of the pension agents $1,400,000 applicable for 1840." Obviously this large sum of money was to be distributed for private use to the "violent poltical partisans of the present administration." Prominent on the list of persons controlling public funds from $30,000 to $70,000 was Philemon Dickerson, the well known recent Democratic governor of New Jersey, whose seat in Congress was being protested by the Whigs. No direct charge of misuse of funds was made, but the implication of malfeasance could take easy root in a fertile mind.

More than mere innuendo was contained in a "big story" which broke on the pages of the *Gazette* on April 22nd. It was the publication of a purloined letter written by Charles W. Woodbury, Democratic postmaster at Salem, New Jersey, to R. A. Dodge of Wenham, dated March 7, 1840. Such obvious collusion as it revealed led the editor to entitle the article "The Letter that would not Burn", and to proclaim that "from the reverend head of the custom house down to the low-water-mark, there is a continuel and impertinent interference with state elections by the office holders of the United States. One is equally surprised," he continued, "at the impudence of these persons in tampering with the freedom of elections, and the patience with which their meddling is endured by the people."

The letter read:

I have heard of your brilliant success at your election. You have managed grandly, and I have no doubt your success is permanent, and that you or some other good Democrat will be chosen Representative next fall. Allow me to suggest to you the propriety of finding out all the young Democrats who will become of age before the election. Also, the names of those persons who are not assessed, for any reason whatever, and have them assessed by May. Your Selectman can make the poll tax 25 cents, which on being paid constitutes the man a voter, and at the election if there are any persons who cannot pay his tax, *I will see that you are provided with the means.* Make every man a voter you can possibly. *We* must carry

the District at the next election. I think from this and the last fall election you can give us 20, or 25 majority. Call and see me when you come in town. Please destroy this letter and believe me to be,

Sir, Yours Truly,
C. W. Woodbury.

The Gazette was happy to support its accusations of corruption by quoting the contemporary "down-east" political satirist, Major Jeremiah Downing, on the use of Federal patronage in New Jersey. This humorist recalled that "Hateful W. Parkins, the celebrated wooden nutmeg vender, up in Connecticut, used to say, that 'it wasn't the fellow what got the most pay worked the hardest.'" He accused the Van Buren administration of spending $1,800,000 of the taxpayers' money to support 11,000 unnecessary officers in the government. "I'll give you a small sample," Major Downing wrote sharply, "just by way of a slant."

In Perth Amboy (about 12 miles from New Brunswick) where I staid last summer, there is a Custom House, with something like ten or a dozen persons attached—one Collector, a Deputy, two Inspectors and a boatman, and two Inspectors for New Brunswick . . . what they have to do, nobody knows but themselves and Mr. Woodbury. [Levi Woodbury, Van Buren's Secretary of the Treasury.] Occasionally, it is true, a smack is licensed, for which the owner or master, pays six shillings. Bill Jinnings, who lives on Staten Island, was on here [Washington] last week to get the Collectorship of the Port of Mosbonker Cove. After he had given Woodbury an account of the business that could be done up there, Woodbury asked him some questions about Perth Amboy—the way that he laid down the advantages of Mosbonker Cove over old Perth was a little too slick—He said, one man might, in 15 minutes in a day, do all the work which now takes so many to do. 'Look here, Woodbury,' says Bill, 'to make a long story short, it cost Uncle Sam something in the neighborhood of $6,000 to support those Customs in Amboy, when $600 is reckoned by pretty good judges, to be an all fired sufficient sum—it would kiver all expenses. But . . . it wouldn't be exactly good policy to look into the affair just now;hadn't we better wait till after next election? The people, you know, Mr. Woodbury, musn't know too much, if they do they'll look rather knowingly towards General Harrison to set things to rights.'

Thus we have an example of the working of Parkinson's Law more than one hundred years ago.

The second issue which was given most emphasis in the Jersey Whig campaign was actually stolen from their opponents. Van

Buren had high hopes of blackening the reputations of the Whigs by referring constantly to them as "Federalists." In so far as the Whigs had absorbed most of the Federalists' principles of strong central government, a national bank and a high tariff, it would seem likely that such a political label would stick. The epithet "Federalists," it must be remembered, stirred up in the public pysche everything distasteful to the general democratic spirit of the day—the arrogant elite, the gaudy rich, the well-born, the anti-democrats, and even treason during the War of 1812. The issue, however, proved in practice to be a boomerang which was flung back at the Democratic glass houses.

The Distasteful Epithet

It was well known in Jersey, according to Lucius Q. C. Elmer, that most of the Democratic leaders themselves, although not then professing the principles of the old defunct party of privilege, had actually been associated with the Federalist party as members, or through family connections.[12] Some of these present Jacksonians, such as Andrew Bell of Perth Amboy, had actually spent years during the American Revolution as Tory refugees in Canada.[13] On the other hand, most of the Whig leaders in Jersey had been brought up in the Jeffersonian tradition. The present governor of the State, William Pennington,—as Elmer averred, "the best governor the Whigs ever had"—was the son of a great anti-Federalist State chancellor. This was equally true, the Whig press pointed out, of the former governor, Samuel Lewis Southard, who was brought up in the Jeffersonian tradition and had made Jersey proud of his national career as the Secretary of the Navy in the administrations of Presidents Monroe and John Q. Adams. As a Senator he had been instrumental in bringing about the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Many of the Democrats engaged in the campaign of 1840, on the contrary, had been "card-carrying" Federalists (to use a modern term) during their early careers. They had supported Andrew Jackson in the election of 1824 to punish his opponent John Q.

[12]Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar, During More Than Half a Century* (Newark, N.J., 1872), pp. 180-200 *passim*.

[13]See William J. Chute, "When Perth Amboy Was a Seaport Town," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XVII, June 1954.

Adams, who had deserted the Federalist party years before to support the candidacy of Thomas Jefferson. This was certainly true of Peter D. Vroom, the present incumbent in Congress and perhaps the leader of the Democrats in Jersey. He had changed his political affiliations and espoused the party of Jackson in 1824, Judge Elmer wrote, "in common with his father and many of the leading Federalists of the State."[14] The names of others were legion. There was Daniel Elmer, Elias B. D. Ogden, ex-Governor Aaron Ogden, Garret D. Wall who was Peter D. Vroom's father-in-law, Thomas C. Ryerson, Daniel Haines, William Chetwood, James Parker, Stacy Potts, and other persons not so well known.

The Whig press had a heyday throughout the campaign, reversing this attack. Commenting upon the recent Democratic State Convention, in which General Wall and Richard P. Thompson had been the major speakers, the *Gazette* on May 22 implied bluntly that the speakers spoke with forked tongues. "Gen. Wall spoke much on the subject of 'Democracy'," it editorialized, "but did not repeat so far as we have heard, his very commendable confession that he had stuck to the Federal Party 'as long as their flag waved in New Jersey'." The *Gazette* warmed up to a fuller expose of the sinister conspiracies of the Democrats. In 1824, it argued, the Federalists had joined forces with the Democrats for the explicit purpose of breaking the line of succession, which had run straight from Jefferson through to John Q. Adams. Proof that President Adams wished to support this tradition in Jersey was made conspicuous by his appointment to the district court of Judge William Rossell, a man who had been persecuted by the Federalists, rather than Richard Stockton, the candidate endorsed by the Federalists. Furthermore, after the election of Jackson to the Presidency, who had received the juicy political plums of patronage, the *Gazette* asked, "and basked in the brightest sunshine of executive favor—the leading Federalists of the State: Wall, Odgen, Vroom, Parker, Green, Armstrong, etc." The editor went on to report that he had in his possession a letter from an old Federalist to his father "whose sons are now active Van Buren men," which contained the plea, "bear lightly on General

[14]Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

Jackson, for he has shown the Federalists fair play in New Jersey."

A further test of its honesty, the *Gazette* maintained, and one which raised its charges above the level of mere allegation, was to be found in the past affiliation of newspapers within the state. It was easy to demonstrate that "all the old (Jeffersonian) Democratic papers of the State, the *True American* in Trenton, the *Newark Sentinel,* the *New Brunswick Fredonian,* the *Sussex Register* who supported Mr. Adams are now Whig papers. All the old Federalist papers, except the Trenton *Federalist,* such as the *New Eagle,* the *New Brunswick Times,* the Sussex *Herald,* the Trenton *Emporium* (whose interest it was to oppose the old democratic *True American,* and which was therefore inclined to federalism though it never professed it)—All these supported Jackson."

The *Gazette* observed that it was the present practice of the opposition party to revile with the "Federalist" tag and as an enemy of Jackson all persons who would not support Van Buren in the present campaign. Just the opposite was indeed the case. Many Democrats who had supported Jackson and were now campaigning for the Whig candidate were denouncing Van Buren because of his "federalism." A prominent case in point was General Richard Keith Call, a personal friend of General Jackson, whose appointment as Governor of the territory of Florida Van Buren had just rescinded. Speaking at Trenton on August 19th, General Call maintained that no good Jacksonian Democrat could in good conscience support the President. He agreed forcibly with the Whigs that the genuine principles of democracy were inconsistent with the measures and acts of Van Buren who, the *Gazette* reported, "had taken to his embrace and confidence every ultra Federalist in the United States that could be induced to become his friend and supporter, and instanced many distinguished Federalists who were opposed to the last war, and rejoiced at the victories of our enemy, or like Mr. Van Buren only supported it, if at all, by talk not by taking up arms."[15] Thus was Whig truth spoken by a seceder from the opposition camp.

On August 26th the *Gazette* reported that "at a recent Locofoco

[15] *State Gazette,* August 19, 1840.

meeting at the Exchange in Pittsburgh, Mr. William Wilkins, the old Federalist and modern Democrat . . . " and so on through the political contest these brickbats of accusation flew thick and fast.

Broad Seal War

The third issue of the campaign, and one felt very strongly by the Whig party, was the so-called "Broad Seal War." It had been raging both in Washington and New Jersey since Congress met in December, 1839, and in the middle of March, 1840, the battle was lost for the Whigs by a play of power politics.

To boil the problem down to its essentials, the election clerks of Millville and South Amboy had thrown out the votes of their respective townships, thereby throwing New Jersey's Congressional election to the Whigs. The candidates arrived in Washington, bearing the approval of Governor Pennington and certificates imprinted by the broad seal of the State. The Democrats, protesting that the election was fraudulent, received other certificates of election from the Secretary of State. The question to be decided by Congress was: which seal was valid? The question was further agitated by the realization that the two parties in the House of Representatives were so evenly divided in strength as to prevent the successful selection of a speaker. Both political groups battled for challenged seats until the middle of March, when a Congressional Committee of Elections decided in favor of the Democratic candidates by the simple process of counting the disputed votes of Millville and South Amboy.[16] The infuriated Whigs of New Jersey immediately began to exploit the settlement as a sordid example of executive interference with the national legislature in order to bolster waning political power contrary to the public will.

It was easy for the defeated party to convince itself that it discerned the "fine Italian hand" of President Van Buren in the proceedings. An even more sinister plot was revealed by Governor Pennington in a letter to Conrad H. Hunt, secretary of the Old Dominion Tippecanoe Club, made public by the Whig press.[17] The correspondence accused the national administration of or-

[16]Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years View* (New York, 1880), I, p. 160.
[17]*State Gazette*, April 10, 1840.

ganizing a cabal with the nefarious John C. Calhoun group—a group which did not hestitate to use threats behind the scenes to make their point. A transparent example, the New Jersey Governor wrote, was the case of Robert Barnwell Rhett of Virginia, who in the early stages of the battle "had made one of the best speeches" in favor of the Whig candidates but who, at voting time, had changed sides. "I knew not what prompted this course on the part of Mr. Rhett, unless it be true, as is generally believed here, that during the interval between the speech and the vote he was now called upon to give, the coalition between the President and his friend and leader, John C. Calhoun, had been formed." Furthermore, the broad seal of New Jersey was sacred and should not be sullied by the unconscionable designs of a desperate man, even though he be the President of the United States.

A skeptic might smile at the idea that the Congressional seats were deliberately stolen by conniving politicians, but many Whigs outside the state, who were not involved in Jersey politics, believed it. Philip Hone, that aristocratic Knickerbocker from across the Hudson, seemed to believe honestly that the President had besmirched the sovereignty of New Jersey for no other reason than to assure the passage of his highly controversial Independent Treasury bill. "This political measure of the administration," he scribbled in his diary for no other eyes but his own, "to the success of which during the whole of the present session of Congress all the other interests of the country were sacrificed, the rights of a most respectable minority trampled under foot, and a sovereign State, New Jersey, been deprived of its lawful representativs to make votes for this particular object . . . ."[18]

The Jersey Whigs lost no opportunity to question the loyalty of the State Democrats by implication or by direct verbal assault. The attacks were directed mainly against Peter D. Vroom and Philemon Dickerson, who were denounced as administration props who had accepted Congressional seats through fraud, although the other Representatives were hit by scattered shots as well. The Whigs' Young Men's Convention at Trenton publicly mourned that these two men "should be so ambitious of the name and power of office, without its honor, as to occupy places which they could reach only by trampling on the Constitution of the

[18]Allan Nevins, *The Diary of Philip Hone,* 1828-1851 (New York, 1936), p. 488.

Union and the Laws and dignity of their own state." But the time of restitution was at hand. All loyal Jerseymen of integrity were exhorted "to fasten upon these bastard sons of a noble stock, and their pliant tools a broad seal of public reprobation which no Secretary's certificate should ever annul."[19]

At the Young Men's National Convention in Baltimore, in May, the Jersey delegates paraded in the streets of the city, displaying conspicuously the State banner, which was embellished with the threatening inscriptions, "The next impression of her broad seal will be respected," and "Our State sovereignty shall not be violated," around which were printed the words, "The Great Seal of the State of New Jersey."[20]

A discussion of the broad seal question was held at every Whig meeting throughout the state, sometimes with laborious repetition. The Whig press was deliriously happy when Captain Robert F. Stockton of the United States Navy,[21] a Democrat and personal friend of Jackson, broke with the Van Buren administration and offered his support to his opponents "solely for the purpose of manifesting my own zeal, and my determination that so far as in me lies, the foul blot upon New Jersey shall be wiped away." His "zeal" was immediately exploited by employing his talents as a stump speaker throughout the State. At a meeting in Burlington, Samuel R. Gummere of that town and Robert Dayton Spencer of Mount Holly had almost exhausted the subject when Captain Stockton got up to speak. As he spoke, his "zeal" became hotter and hotter and, feeling the heat returned by his audience, he boasted with manly fervor that had he been denied his Congressional seat, he would have nailed his certificate with a hunting knife to the clerk's desk and dared the Calhoun block to take it off. "For years, disgusted with the petty scramble for power and place," he shouted, "I have abstained from political controversy. Had the present been a mere party question I had not been here. But this question is one which concerns the state of New Jersey,

[19] *State Gazette,* April 10, 1840.

[20] *State Gazette,* May 6, 1840.

[21] It was this same Captain Stockton who later seized California during the Mexican War and declared it a territory of the United States, and served as a Senator from New Jersey in the early 1850's. See also, Samuel J. Bayard, *A Sketch of the Life of Commodore Robert F. Stockton* (New York, 1856), I, p. 78 for the 1840 campaign.

and all my interests are here. Here are my lands and my children, and here I must stay for good or evil."[22] Later, when it seemed that he might have inadvertently questioned the courage of the defeated Whig candidates, who had shown little desire to show the sharpness of naked steel, Stockton insisted that he had been misquoted by the *Gazette,* and stated that what he had actually said was that "in our fathers' time," such an action would have been taken.[23]

William Halsted, one of the candidates who had silently accepted the ruling of the House, explained "that armed men were ready to assault us if we insisted upon the authority of the broad seal of New Jersey. The question was shall we provoke a civil war. We had to settle it under this vast responsibility. The advice of all the Whigs from other states was in favor of the course we took, and the people of New Jersey will sooner suffer wrong, than endanger the peace of this Union."[24] The readers of the *Gazette* must have realized by this time that the "Locofocos" were of a more despicable nature than had been expected.

Captain Stockton succeeded at a Bordentown meeting in reducing the campaign to one issue—the issue of right or wrong. "Our liberties and our laws have been taken from us," he told his listeners, and, in a phraseology reminiscent of Daniel Webster, he added, "My banner is the flag of your sovereignty. That sovereignty has been prostrated, and therefore I say 'the sovereignty of New Jersey—now and forever—peaceably if we can; forcibly if we must'." Stockton must have been extremely effective. The *Gazette* referred to him as a natural orator. "He seized upon the feelings of his hearers and carried them with him, through a speech more impassioned and ardent than we ever heard before," it reported.[25]

Out-of-state orators found that to mention the Broad Seal War was the most effective way to stir their audiences. Henry Wise of Virginia saw New Jersey fighting for "the preservation of her constitutional equality in the Union . . . the most daring and

[22] *State Gazette,* July 27, 1840.
[23] *State Gazette,* July 31, 1840.
[24] *State Gazette,* July 27, 1840.
[25] *State Gazette,* August 7, 1840.

dangerous infraction of States' Rights."[26] S. S. Prentiss of Mississippi, in the Military Park of Salem before 3,000 people, in a speech so effective that Chief Justice Joseph C. Hornblower remembered it vividly many years later,[27] alluded to the noble blood shed by Jersey patriots in the Revolution. "If the sons of glorious sires do not redress the wrong," he warned, "the very bones that lay in these old battle fields will rattle with indignation . . . . " Congressman George Evans of Maine paused in his tour of the political circuit to offer his sympathy; while Millard Fillmore of New York, later to be President of the United States, told his audience that "I have not the honor to know your faces, but it is my misfortune to know your wrongs."[28]

When the campaign of 1840 was over and the final votes tallied, the Whigs found that they had secured a firm control of the State offices for themselves and had carried the State for their national candidates. The new campaign methods had been tested pragmatically and had proved themselves successful. The Whig victory was widespread. William Henry Harrison, the first Whig president, was figuratively blown into the White House by the gale of dissent which accompanied the tidal wave against Martin Van Buren and his Democratic party. The horizon looked promisingly bright after the political storm. "But what is to come?" queried John Quincy Adams in his famous diary. "No halcyon days. One set of unsound principles for another. Harrison comes in upon a hurricane; God grant he may not go out upon a wreck."[30]

[26] *State Gazette,* April 13, 1840.
[27] *The Memoirs of Joseph C. Hornblower* (1855), pp. 173-174.
[28] *State Gazette,* August 28, 1840.
[29] *State Gazette,* August 28, 1840.
[30] *The Diary of John Quincy Adams,* Allan Nevins, ed. (New York, 1928), p. 514.

APPENDIX

Names of Whigs as reported in the *State Gazette*

Whig State Central Committee:

John Howell, Zachariah Rossell, James Wilson, Ralph H. Shreve, Orrin Baily.

Committee of three from each county to nominate Convention delegates:

Morris: William Neilson Wood, A. B. Cobb, Abm. Brittin

Somerset: Thomas A. Hartwell, Lloyd Van Devere, Fred. Frelinghuysen

Warren: Sam'l Sherrerd, Allen N. Wilson, Augustus Richey

Salem: Dr. E. Q. Keasbey, Paul Scull, John Hull

Burlington: Robt. E. Spencer, Jonathan Oliphant, Richard Wilkins

Hunterdon: James N. Reading, John Runk, John Corryell, Esq.

Essex: John J. Chetwood, Wm. Stephen, Wm. Pierson, Jr.

Middlesex: John Acken, John Perrine, Jr., Nathan Throp

Sussex: Whitfield S. Johnson, Henry DeWitt, Thos. Teasdale

Mercer: Ralph H. Shreve, Wm. Boswell, Emley Olden

Atlantic: John C. Briggs, Edmund Taylor, A. L. Isaacs

Monmouth: James S. Lawrence, Forman Hendrickson, Harrison G. Wright

Gloucester: Philip C. Gray, Joseph Franklin, John B. Harrison

Cumberland: Samuel Barber, Ebenezer P. Wallen, Jeremiah H. Lupton

Passaic: Larriston Hall, Isaac A. Vanderbeck, John A. McPherson

Bergen: R. P. Campbell, Elijah Rozencrants, Peter G. Doremus

Cape May: Richard Thomson, Amos Corson, Thos. H. Hughes

Hudson: J. D. Miller, Thomas W. James, Albert M. Zabriskie

List of Vice Presidents:

Peter I. Ackerman, Bergen; Wm. Stites, Essex; Cornelius G. Van Riper, Passaic; Jonathan Jenkins, Hudson; George T. McDowell, Middlesex; Henry D. Polhemus, Monmouth; Peter Vredenburgh, Somerset; John Barber, Hunterdon; Dr. Jos. Phillip, Mercer; Jos. S. Halsted, Sussex; Wm. P. Clark, Warren; Samuel B. Halsey, Morris; Jos. Kirkbridge, Burlington; Jos. E. Franklin, Gloucester; John C. Briggs, Atlantic; Israel R. Clawson, Salem; Samuel Barber, Cumberland; Thos. P. Hughes, Cape May.

Secretaries:

Samuel R. Gummere, Burlington; Edw. Q. Keasby, Salem; John R. Voorhees, Morris; Edward Cook, Essex.

Committee to Nominate Officers:

Chas. Kinsey, Bergen; A. C. M. Pennington, Essex; Andrew Parsons, Passaic; Henry Southmayd, Hudson; John T. McDowell, Middlesex; Samuel G. Wright, Monmouth; Geo. H. Brown, Somerset; Jacob B. Smith, Hunterdon; John S. McCully, Mercer; Job S. Halsted, Sussex; Dr. George Green, Warren; Wm. N. Wood, Morris; Wm. R. Allen, Burlington; Jos. Porter, Gloucester; John Richards, Atlantic; John Dickerson, Salem; James G. Hampton, Cumberland; Dr. Morris Beasly, Cape May.

Philip Freneau's Poetry In the *New-Jersey Gazette*

PHILIP MARSH

PHILIP Freneau collected his poems in five editions (1786, 1788, 1795, 1809, 1815); and Pattee and Clark have issued modern collections.[1] But it is generally agreed that he published, in newspapers, many that he ignored in his collections, and still more after his last edition of 1815. Lewis Leary, Freneau's scholarly biographer, lists a large number of probable or possible ascriptions.[2]

Yet there are doubtless many Freneau poems never mentioned as his by modern critics. Some occur without "contributing circumstances" to enhance the probability of their genuineness. Others appear in publications to which Freneau was contributing, and at about the time when his known work was published in them. If they are about subjects typical of him and in a style similar to his, we have a probability well supported.

Such a case appears for two poems in the *New-Jersey Gazette* of Trenton during the fall of 1780. At this time Freneau was at his farm home not far away, recuperating from his imprisonment on the British prison ship *Scorpion* and the hospital ship *Hunter,* from which he had been released on July 13, after six weeks of suffering. He had arrived at his home on July 14, ill and exhausted.[3]

Resting in Monmouth (now Matawan), Freneau resumed—so it seems—his writing, doing a poem blasting British brutality, "The British Prison Ship;" an incomplete drama about Arnold

THE WRITER, well known to readers of the PROCEEDINGS as an authority on the poet Freneau, is a member of the faculty of Texas Lutheran College.

[1]Fred L. Pattee, *Poems of Philip Freneau* (Princeton, 1902-1907); Harry Clark, *Poems of Freneau* (New York, 1929).

[2]Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (New Brunswick, 1941), pp. 381, 383, 384, 385, 388, 395, 402, 405, 406, 407.

[3]Philip Freneau, *Some Account of the Capture of the Ship "Aurora",* Jay Milles, ed. (New York, 1899).

and Andre, *The Spy;* and, according to Leary, "Verses to the Memory of Capt. Nicholas Biddle" for the *New-Jersey Gazette* of December 13, 1780.[4]

Two other poems in the Gazette that fall were signed "Z.", and there was a short essay over the same signature.[5] The first poem (September 6) is an "intercepted" letter from a lady in New York to her sister Tabitha, expressing exaggerated concern about the uncomfortable British situation in the city. The form was a favorite with Freneau (tetrameter couplets); and, as often in his poems, there were explanatory footnotes. Thus it begins:

> We've almost, sweet sister, been frighten'd to death,
> Nor have we, as yet, quite recovered our breath.
> An army of rebels came down t'other night,
> Expecting no doubt that the British would fight.
> Next morning we saw them parade at the Hook,
> And thought, to be sure, this was too much to brook;
> That soon would the river be crowded with boats,
> With Hessian and English, to cut all their throats:
>
> . . .
>
> At length came the night, overloaded with fears,
> And shew'd us on what we had lean'd for five years.
> The men who had wish'd for occasions for blows,
> Now suffer'd themselves to be pull'd by the nose.
> Sir *Harry* it seems, was more sullen han ever,
> And *Andre* complain'd of much bile in his liver.
> The Generals all met, as grave as magicians,
> The magic of law, or sagest physicians:
> But all that was done, tho' they sat till near night,
> Was to keep at their bottle — and not go to fight.
>
> . . .
>
> God help us, Tabitha, how women will change,
> But sure it was meant we should have a long range,
> Nor were we design'd to be shut in a cloister,
> Or fix'd to one spot, like a root or an oyster.
> But here, on this island, one scare gets a span,
> And now not an ince, let one do what they can;
> And long as the rebels keep up such a pother,
> We shall do nothing — but look at each other.

[4]Leary, *op.cit.*, pp. 75, 85, 424. This poem, however, may be by another author. William B. Clark, in *Captain Dauntless: The Story of Nicholas Biddle* (Baton Rouge, 1949), claims it for Biddle's cousin, William Scull. It is signed "W. S."

[5]Freneau used a great many pseudonyms, often in single intials. See Leary, page 418.

On October 18, the *Gazette* published a prose letter by "Z."—"To Sir Henry Clinton", twitting the general on certain embarrassing recent events and conditions, *i. e.*: Cornwallis's failure, the defeat at Springfield, the failure of Arnold to deliver West Point, and the loss of Andre, etc. The essay is a rebuke to Clinton for his cool treatment of Andre:

> Had you aught of sentiment, Sir Harry, there would be no end to your afflictions. Had you a magnanimity like Andre's, you would at least have sacrificed your commission, could that have preserved his life. — If to be great is to be unfeeling, I ask not for greatness. If to see one's best friend suffer without a tear is characteristic of dignity, give me lowliness. If high stations teach men to believe that the abilities of others were only formed to forward their designs, and that friends should be no longer protected than they are thought to be useful, place me in a cottage and obscurity, and let me forever be secluded from such men. — But alas! it is the nature of power to attract and deceive, and, perhaps, there is no country without its Clinton . . .
>
> Z.

On November 15, 1780, the *New-Jersey Gazette* printed a second verse letter to Tabitha. The writer wrote an introductory note explaining that it "was intercepted when the American army lay near the New-Bridge." The verse-letter is dated September 12, and, like the other poem, complains about conditions in New York, fear of the rebels, the lack of entertainment and so forth; it closes in a tone of desperation:

> For sure as in Rome there are priests or a pope,
> Affairs here have got to the end of the rope;
> And if there is aught or in visions or skill,
> We all must give up to the rebels at will.
>
> . . .
>
> Z.

Probably both poems and the prose letter—all signed "Z."—were by the same writer, who from style and circumstances appears to have been Philip Freneau, who loved to satirize the British.

That he enjoyed writing in the person of a young lady, too, is clear from certain of his known works—an essay on fashions by "Priscilla Tripstreet" in *The Freeman's Journal* of Philadelphia (July 17, 1782); a comic poem, "Margery and Patty," written in

the 1770's but published in *The True American* (Trenton) for July 27, 1822;[6] and other prose pieces not definitely ascribable, yet evidently his work. Moreover, he enjoyed writing and, as editor, publishing varities of the "intercepted letter" in prose and verse. One known Freneau poem entitled "Copy of an Intercepted Letter" recites the views of a New York Tory—and in exactly the same form as that used by "Z." Portions follow:[7]

Dear Sir, I'm so anxious to hear of your health,
I beg you would send me a letter by stealth:
I hope a few months will quite alter the case;
When the wars are concluded we'll meet and embrace;

. . .

The rebels must surely conclude they're undone,
Their navy is ruin'd, their armies have run;
It is time they should now from delusion awaken —
The rebellion is done — for the Trumbull is taken!

. . .

TORY.

One last little straw of evidence is of some interest. In Philadelphia the next year (1781), Freneau began editing *The Freeman's Journal,* apparently some time in July. The first contribution that looks definitely like his work at that time appears on July 11; it is a prose report of graduation oratory. Apparently the writer was deeply impressed by the oration of one young man who condemned Britain heartily, her prison ships, her wanton destruction of American towns, and her "mercy." It was signed "Z."

Thus we have several factors supporting a probability that "Z." was Freneau, at his favorite game of poking fun at the British —his presence near by, his known contribution of a poem to the same newspaper shortly after, the similarity in form and tone to his known works, his liking for the "intercepted letter," his habitual use of single-initial signatures, and his apparent use of the same signature in a first contribution to *The Freeman's Journal* during the next summer, when assuming editorial duties.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 53, 373.

[7] *The Freeman's Journal,* Sept. 5, 1781. Also in Freneau's *Poems* (Philadelphia, 1786), p. 214.

Aspects of Lilly Martin Spencer's Career in Newark, New Jersey

ANN BYRD SCHUMER

The name of Lilly Martin Spencer is closely connected with the history of Newark, New Jersey, during the third quarter of the past century. Mrs. Spencer's relationship to Newark is a fairly important one, in terms of the contribution she made to the larger concept of American painting during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Until quite recently, almost nothing was known about Mrs. Spencer during the time of her activity in Newark, and there is still a paucity of evidence concerning these important years. Slowly, however, certain facts have been emerging which shed some light on this phase of the artist's career, and which indicate her particular importance in the rather complex pattern of nineteenth century art.

In 1858, when Mrs. Spencer arrived in Newark, she was already a well established artist. She was thirty-six years old and had been pursuing her profession for over half of these years. She was financially successful and popular throughout the country. Although public success had not come easily, painting had always been the persistent, driving ambition of this dynamic little woman:

> I mean to try to become a Michael Angelo if I possibly can and I plan to try to make my paintings have a tendency toward Moral improvement, at least as far as it is in the power of painting. Oh! a fine painting has a beautiful power over the human passions and mankind needs all the more powerful minds can do in the way of writing and painting.[1]

To fulfill this ambition, Mrs. Spencer was forced to overcome many obstacles, the greatest of them being the fact that she was a

The Writer, a graduate student at the Ohio State University, is the author of a thesis on Lilly Martin Spencer and her relationship to nineteenth-century American art.

[1]From a letter written by the artist, July 18, 1847, when she was twenty-five years old. Campus Martius Collection, Marietta, Ohio.

woman during an era when both men and women were suspicious of a female engaged in anything but housekeeping.

Lilly, born at Exeter, England, in November, 1822, was christened Angelique Marie Martin. Her family was French, from Brittany. Both parents were teachers. Her father, Giles Martin, was teaching at the famous Exeter Boys' Academy. The unusually high educational accomplishments of the Martins as well as their freedom from constraining conventions were, without doubt, factors contributing to the artistic career of their first child, Lilly. In 1830, the Martin family emigrated to New York City, where Giles, with three English friends, opened a school.

Various accounts are given of Lilly's first artistic efforts.[2] One may safely say that she was a precocious child, and that her artistic talent at an early age was discovered and encouraged by her parents. This is evidenced by Lilly Martin's attendance in art classes at the old National Academy of Design in New York City before she was ten years old. These first lessons, however, were few in number, for, in consequence of general family illness during the cholera epidemic of 1831-1832, the Martins left New York in 1833 and moved to the vicinity of Marietta, Ohio. Here Lilly's father contracted with the Marietta Collegiate Institute to teach French and to lecture in that language.

The change of environment did not affect Lilly's earlier interest in drawing. She executed numerous charcoal sketches of her family and their Marietta friends. Three of these early drawings, still extant at Marietta,[3] show that Lilly was skillful with the charcoal medium and unusually observant for one so young and primarily self-taught. Lilly's artistic abilities were recognized by two Marietta artists, who encouraged her to continue in art; they also introduced Lilly to oil paints before she was fifteen years old. Within the next three years, Miss Martin had executed fifty oil paintings on canvas, and her first exhibition was held in the summer of 1841 in Marietta.

This exhibition was brought to the attention of Nicholas Longworth, the elder, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Longworth, at that time, was well known for his support of the arts.[4] The exact

[2]See, for example: Edna M. Clark, *Ohio Art and Artists* (Richmond, 1932).
[3]Campus Martius Museum, Marietta, Ohio.
[4]Mr. Longworth was then patron to the well known sculptor, Hiram Powers.

extent of the assistance he gave Miss Martin is not known, but he did offer to send her to study with Washington Allston in Boston before he had seen any of her paintings.[5] Lilly Martin declined this offer of Longworth's, as well as a later offer to send her abroad. The foreign sojourn was proposed in order that she might study and copy the old masters to the exclusion of all else, abstaining from any original work.

Later in 1841, Lilly and her father took the river boat down the Ohio River to Cincinnati, a city which at that time was one of the leading art centers in this country. Mr. Martin taught French privately in Cincinnati for nearly a year, to help defray some of the cost of Lilly's art lessons; evidently he stayed in Cincinnati just long enough to help Lilly establish herself. She was then only nineteen years old, but Mr. Martin was apparently willing that she should make an independent career and live alone in a newly expanded, vigorous city. The Martin parents certainly did not share the common views of their age as to the proper way of rearing young ladies. After her father had returned to his family in Marietta, Lilly wrote:

> Dear Father, you must not build any expectation on Mr. S ——— getting any money. He has not been to see me since you are gone. We must make up our minds to go on our own footing . . . our own feet are yet the best to stand on, bad as they may be, for if we do on others, we will be likely to be tripped . . .[6]

After a period of financial hardship in Cincinnati, Miss Martin received a few portrait commissions and was then able to study with James H. Beard, a highly regarded painter of domestic animals. In 1844, while Lilly was still in Cincinnati, she married Benjamin Rush Spencer of Virginia, but continued to pursue her artistic career.

From 1846 onward, Lilly, now Mrs. Lilly Martin Spencer, was recognized as one of the best artists in Cincinnati, and her popularity and financial success there were assured. Mrs. Spencer exhibited at every place of exhibition the art-conscious city afforded,

[5]Letter from Mr. Longworth. Collection of Mrs. Lillian S. Gates, Rutherford, New Jersey.

[6]Letter by the artist, 1842, from the Campus Martius Collection, Marietta, Ohio.

Plate 1. Group Portrait of the Ward Children. Oil painting attributed to Lilly Martin Spencer. Newark Museum. *(Newark Museum Photo.)*

Plate 2. Portrait of Nicholas Longworth Ward. Oil painting attributed to Lilly Martin Spencer. Newark Museum. *(Newark Museum Photo.)*

especially at the Western Art Union, of which she was a member, and the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts. Her prestige in the Art Union is reflected in notices like the following:

> Mrs. Lilly Martin Spencer . . . we take pleasure in announcing to persons remote from here the rapid advances she is making in Art . . . a young woman who is a wife, mother, and artist, is next to Frankenstein the most talented, and the most original devotee known in the profession here . . . The possession of rare endowments and enthusiasm only could have sustained her in her tedious and cheerless hours of toil . . . we are happy to announce that this very talented Artist is becoming daily more appreciated abroad and at home.[7]

The first premium given to the members of the Western Art Union was a mezzotint reproduced from one of Mrs. Spencer's paintings, "One of Life's Happy Hours."

By 1849, Mrs. Spencer and her family had left Cincinnati and established themselves in New York City. For a time, their residence was at 193 Bleecker Street, in Manhattan. Here, within a relatively short period of time, her success and popularity began to increase. She soon became a member of the American Art Union, the National Academy of Design, the Brooklyn Art Association, and the Cosmopolitan Art Union. By 1855, many of Mrs. Spencer's paintings had been reproduced in France by the Goupil process. Goupil's New York representative, William Schaus, continued his business relationship with Mrs. Spencer until almost the end of the century. Mrs. Spencer made a series of designs to illustrate Mrs. Elizabeth Fries Ellet's volumes, *Heroic Women of the American Revolution.* Some of these illustrations were reproduced in *Godey's Lady's Book,* as were others of Mrs. Spencer's paintings.

In April, 1858, Mrs. Spencer moved from her Bleecker Street address to 461 High Street, Newark, New Jersey. The change was quite probably a direct effect of the financial success she had enjoyed during the decade of the fifties. The choice of Newark was probably due to several factors: Mrs. Spencer's growing family, her friendship with Nicholas Longworth (who had formerly

[7] T. W. Whitley, *Reflections on the Government of the Western Art Union and a Review of the Works of Art on Its Walls* (Cincinnati, 1848), pp. 18 ff.

resided in Newark) and with Marcus L. Ward, who was related by marriage to Mr. Longworth, and her acquaintance with the painter Rembrandt Lockwood,[8] whose studio she purchased in 1858.[9]

The property at 461 High Street, at the corner of Orleans Street, was owned by Marcus L. Ward, who rented it, with a purchase option, to Mrs. Spencer for two years. However, Mrs. Spencer did not buy the property, and in 1860 she and her husband moved to 294 High Street, Newark. Here they remained for nineteen years.

The move from New York City brought about no lessening of Mrs. Spencer's national fame. In the decade and a half following her change of environment, she continued to exhibit throughout the East and near West, finding a ready market for most of her paintings. Her studio was, according to description,

> . . . at the foot of her garden, a large building, with its walls covered by sketches, casts . . . where the artist labors assiduously. Visitors from distant cities come here to see her paintings, and she usually has several in progress at the same time.[10]

In 1860 Mrs. Spencer was awarded first place at the New Jersey State Fair in three classes of painting: figure, still-life, and animal.[11] During the years of her residence in Newark, she exhibited in Boston at the Athenaeum and Mechanics' Fair, in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Centennial of 1876, and in New York at the Cosmopolitan Art Union. Mrs. Spencer's most recent paintings were often on view at Campbell's Frame Shop, 265 Broad Street, Newark, which was operated by Charles G. Campbell. "Celebrating the Victory at Vicksburg," also known as "The War Front at Home" (acquired by the Newark Museum in 1944 through the Wallace M. Scudder bequest), is one of the many paintings Mrs. Spencer executed in her Newark studio and first exhibited at Campbell's shop.

[8]For an account of artist Lockwood, see William H. Gerdts, "Rembrandt Lockwood," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, October, 1958.

[9]*Cosmopolitan Art Journal*, II, 1858, p. 209.

[10]Mrs. E. F. Ellet, *Women Artists of all Ages* (New York, 1859), p. 325.

[11]*Cosmopolitan Art Journal*, II, 1860, p. 321.

The continued popularity of Mrs. Spencer during the earlier years of her Newark residence is indicated by the following statement:

> Mrs. Lily M. Spencer [is] . . . still at her Newark studio laboring late and early over her pressing commissions. Step by step this lady has advanced in her profession, until she is now conceded rank with the best artists this country has produced in her special departments of fruit pieces and . . . characterizations. Her pictures command large prices and are richly worth all they command.[12]

Mrs. Spencer executed many paintings on commission both for private individuals and for various organizations such as *Godey's* and the Cosmopolitan Art Association. Of those paintings commissioned by organizations, many were reproduced in the form of engravings and hand-tinted lithographs, for which Mrs. Spencer received no additional income beyond the original purchase price. It is worth noting here that the artist apparently signed and dated most of the paintings commissioned from her by organizations and paintings which were sent to exhibitions, whereas she did not usually sign or date privately commissioned portraits and still-lifes.

THE WARD PORTRAITS

In 1920, the eminent patron and philanthropist Marcus L. Ward, Jr., bequeathed to the Newark Museum, among other works of art, two unsigned, undated, privately commissioned paintings. Both works are portraits of the Ward children, Joseph, Marcus Jr., Catherine, Francis, and Nicholas. These paintings may now be attributed, with fair accuracy, to Lilly Martin Spencer. Though the writer would be inclined to make this identification on stylistic grounds alone, there is added evidence in the form of documentation which confirms the attribution.

In 1857, when Mrs. Spencer and Mr. Ward signed their legal agreement concerning the property at 461 High Street, Newark, no money was exchanged. Instead, Marcus L. Ward put himself

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

on record as agreeing to accept, in lieu of cash, three paintings, as follows:

> One large full length picture of four figures—likenesses of his said Ward's children; one portrait of Mrs. Ward, and one handsome fancy piece . . . all to be painted in her best manner by Mrs. Spencer.[13]

Actually, this document applies to only one of the Museum's two paintings of the Ward children, but the companion-piece is so similar in style and conception as to indicate that the same artist executed both works. The large,[14] full-length picture of the four Ward children, now in the collection of the Newark Museum through the bequest of Marcus L. Ward, Jr., formerly attributed to Thomas Buchanan Read[15], was certainly executed by Mrs. Lilly Martin Spencer, quite probably in 1858.

It is important that these privately commissioned portraits and still-lifes, executed by Mrs. Spencer, be properly attributed to her. Without knowledge of these works, which are usually superior in sentiment of conception, and often in execution, scholars and critics of nineteenth-century art tend to regard Mrs. Spencer as solely a *genre* or "nursery" painter. The innumerable reproductions of these latter types, the originals of which Mrs. Spencer executed for organizations, are more generally known precisely because of their appearance in mass media. From a numerical standpoint, since over a million graphic reproductions from various paintings of Mrs. Spencer's were published, all signed and dated, one could easily conceive of her as a painter only in terms of sentimental reproductions.[16] A large measure of her importance to nineteenth-century American art is due to the popularity of her anecdotal paintings, graphically reproduced. These anecdotal works, however, are again only one aspect of her painting career. Although they are very indicative of the taste of society

[13]Property agreement between the artist and Marcus L. Ward. From the collection of Mrs. Lilliam Spencer Gates, granddaughter of the artist, Rutherford, New Jersey.

[14]Oil on canvas, height 92″, width 68½″.

[15]Persis Motter, "The Marcus L. Ward Bequest, " *The Museum* (Newark), July, 1949.

[16]Both Virgil Barker in *American Painting* (New York, 1950, p. 513) and Oliver Larkin in *Art and Life in America* (New York, 1959, p. 215) refer to Mrs. Spencer as an artist working for reproductions.

at that time, these efforts are often artistically inferior to those works executed as private commissions.

The group portrait of the four Ward children[17] (Plate 1) has been recognized for some time as a significant example of nineteenth-century art. The work was loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1939 and was included in a retrospective exhibition of three hundred years of American art.[18] It was considered important enough to be illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, but for want of more accurate information at that time, this group portrait was attributed to Thomas B. Read. The same work also appears in E. P. Richardson's book on American painting[19], again attributed to Read; the author does, it must be noted, recognize the painting's position in the art of the past century.

The group portrait, in execution and spirit, is a fine example of those works executed by Mrs. Spencer for private commissions. By 1858, the highly probable date of this painting, the artist was not only an experienced technician but had been exposed for over a decade and a half to the various methods and styles then to be found in the New York area. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mrs. Spencer used a painterly technique to further the effect of the total composition rather than merely as a precise rendition of color patterns. The color tones in the portrait of the Ward children tend to maintain their purity even in the areas of greater depth. In contrast to this purity, a certain degree of muddiness is to be found around the edges of nearly all the color areas, a characteristic of many of Mrs. Spencer's paintings. Icy to deep blues, deep, rich golds and browns, and bright reds and greens compose the palette. The canvas achieves its luminosity largely through the relationships of bright and contrasting areas of color, rather than because of any specifically delineated light source. The momentary quality of the children's grouping, as if they were captured in paint at a specific instant, is charac-

[17]Joseph Morris Ward (1841-1911), Marcus L. Ward, Jr. (1846-1920), Catherine A. Ward (1849-1860), Francis B. Ward (1856-1864).

[18]*Life in America During Three Hundred Years* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939), III, p. 124.

[19]Edward P. Richardson, *American Romantic Painting* (New York, 1944), Plate 171, p. 143.

teristic of nearly all of Mrs. Spencer's paintings. This sense of transiency serves to form an immediate link between the observer and the scene represented.

The amount of detail and the degree of visual accuracy in the execution of a Spencer painting are amazing. They are more amazing, still, in terms of the large size of this canvas and the small size of Mrs. Spencer. She was under five feet in height and was, following the generalized attribution to all women at that time, considered to be frail. The luster of polished wood, the glimmer of soft silk, the crispness of white eyelet embroidery, and the richness of heavy velvet appear with great vitality under the energetic brush of this diminutive artist. Fortunately, Mrs. Spencer realized something which many of her contemporary painters did not: that a great number of details in every area of a composition results in a mere restlessness or agitation of pattern. (One might add that in the enthusiasm of a moment, Mrs. Spencer herself did not make the most effective use of her realization.) Although the central area of the group portrait is composed of a great number of accurately reproduced details, the artist has included more simple floor and background areas. These quieter areas create a more effective total composition by focusing the observer's attention on the grouping of the children and at the same time help to alleviate any excessive tensions which might be created by the highly detailed central area.

The children's portrait in question is representative, in several ways, of its period in American art. The monumental size of the canvas alone indicates the taste of mid-nineteenth-century society; people who had means built and decorated on a grand scale. The almost total absorption in painting with accuracy and detail had its counterpart in literature and in the geographic expansion of a people interested in a present rather than a past. The immediate experience was significant, with its specific awarenesses and actualities, rather than more abstruse observations and situations. The technical problems of this work, and of paintings contemporaneous with it, derive largely from the lack of any traditional American art school or center and the lack of a studio atmosphere. At the same time, however, American society itself, in a broad sense, was relatively unaware of the

long European traditions of art. It therefore tended to accept the canvases executed by American artists for the positive qualities the works offered and for the direct appeal of the subject matter.

The second of the two Spencer paintings bequeathed to the Newark Museum by Marcus L. Ward, Jr., is a single full-figure portrait of Nicholas Longworth Ward[20] (Plate 2). This seems to have been painted after the large group portrait. Many of the stylistic qualities of the group portrait are found in the single figure portrait also. There is the rich, bright palette; the great interest and accuracy in depiction of detail; an emphasis upon the same textures of wood, velvet, and eyelet embroidery; and the inclusion of similar objects, alike in kind, number, and placement, in rug patterns, table and cover, and background. There is also the recurring theme of a chair in both compositions, employed as a unifying device. The floral arrangement on the table has been depicted with great care and is a good indication of the artist's interest in still-life painting as well as portraiture. The child in this painting, like those in the former, is engaged in a specific and momentary action, that of offering the observer a piece of fruit. Again, the action serves the same compositional purposes in both paintings.

This portrait is an engaging, charming painting, and one feels that Mrs. Spencer was very much in sympathy with her subject. This sympathetic attitude is rather characteristic of artists of that time:

> Artists brought to the observation of their world a simple directness of approach which is combined with the idealism of their sentiment—a deep affection for and acceptance of their subject arising from a feeling of oneness with their world. Their preference was to paint the things and people about them; their method to relate their observations to sentiment on one hand and to actuality on the other, so that the artist's poetic feeling and the observer's simple experience of having lived may meet in one transparent image.[21]

[20]Nicholas Longworth Ward (1852-1857). The artist included the name, Nicholas L. Ward, in the painting on the silver goblet. Oil on canvas, height 50", width 40". (The painting is quite probably one of those which Mrs. Spencer executed after the death of the subject. There is at least one additional posthumous portrait, painted by Mrs. Spencer in 1871).

[21]Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Through documentary as well as stylistic evidence, the large group portrait of the Ward children can be safely assigned to Mrs. Lilly M. Spencer. Although no documentation is available for the single full-figure portrait, stylistic evidence cited indicates the high probability that it was done by the same artist. Mrs. Spencer left written indications to the effect that Marcus L. Ward commissioned and purchased many of her paintings. Of these, only the two portraits are now known. Happily, these two paintings are excellent examples of Mrs. Spencer's mature artistic effort. The people of Newark, New Jersey, are most fortunate in having, as public possessions, such fine representative works of Mrs. Spencer's art. They are splendid examples of America's own mid-nineteenth-century painting.

"THE PICNIC"

Another work by Mrs. Spencer, which was executed in her Newark studio in the 1870's but which is no longer in New Jersey,[22] is entitled "The Picnic on the Fourth of July—A Day to be Remembered." It is also a canvas of monumental scale.[23] "The Picnic" *(Frontispiece)* was one of many paintings by the artist which were reproduced in the form of hand-tinted lithographs. This painting was illustrated in *Life* about ten years ago[24] as a typical example of nineteenth-century romantic painting in America. It was correctly attributed to Mrs. Spencer as the illustration was taken from a signed lithograph. Unfortunately for New Jersey residents, not enough was known about Mrs. Spencer's career, at that time, to allow correct identification of the site depicted in the painting. The *Life* article stated that the scene was probably near Marietta, Ohio, on the Muskingum River. Althought no written evidence remains concerning the locale, it would seem probable that the scene is on the Passaic River. Although no written evidence remains concerning the the artist's granddaughter, who was told by her father that the painting's setting was near Newark.[25] The probability of a Passaic River scene is further strengthened by the fact that Mrs.

[22]In the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Gucker, New York City.
[23]Approximately 5 ft. in height, 7 ft. in width.
[24]*Life*, July 5, 1948, III, p. 48.
[25]Verbal communication from the granddaughter, Mrs. Gates, to the writer.

Spencer was living in Newark at the time she painted this canvas.

Some of the various incidents depicted in this large picnic scene actually occurred, in all probability, at a family outing. Mrs. Spencer often painted happenings which she had personally observed.[26] These observed events frequently took place in the daily life of her family. Along with a painting which she sent to *Godey's,* Mrs. Spencer included the following statement: "The idea was suggested by a nursery incident in our home."[27]

From other works by the artist, and from family information, the figures included in "The Picnic" appear to be members of the Spencer family and their friends. Mr. Spencer is easily recognized from other portraits of him painted by his wife. He is literally the center of attention, shown at the precise instant that the swing has broken, sending him to the ground. An amazing variety of expressions and characterizations is found on the faces of the people surrounding the central figure. Mrs. Spencer, her arms outstretched toward the swing's victim, can be recognized from other self-portraits.

This work is a good example of the broad category of painting referred to as American Romanticism. The rustic scene of the river, with boys wading, a sailboat in the distance, broad trees, and deep woods, is an idyllic, romantic setting within which the various actions occur. Rich costumes and colors, music, good food, excitement, mischief, and fun provide a general tone of relaxation and enjoyment. The shy lovers, screened by foliage, away from the crowd, are an indication of the artist's interest in the romantic style of painting. Emphasis on the present is found in the contemporary dress of the figures and in their momentary actions. These qualities are typical of American Romanticism, and perhaps the fourth of July is the most typical American holiday.

The three paintings discussed here are all excellent examples of Lilly Martin Spencer's work. Each one is a witness to Mrs. Spencer's contribution to nineteenth-century American art at home.

[26] A letter, May 18, 1851, from a friend to the artist's mother tells of a visit to Mrs. Spencer's home, where the friend saw a painting "pleasing as well as becoming; it was the servant's likeness, while washing. She was looking through the window . . . at something attracting the laughable which was passing. She called Mrs. Spencer to come and see it. The [servant's] position pleased her so well that she thought that she must have the likeness. I never saw anything so striking before, for the servant was the same who opened the door, so I had a good chance to judge."

[27] *Godey's Lady's Book,* January, 1862, p. 97.

The Senator Who Voted Against The Sherman Antitrust Act

RUSSELL DECKER

THE typical text-book treatment of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 indicates that it laid the broad background for the ever-expanding control by the Federal Government of the American Businessman through an antitrust program and a program of controlling trade practices. The act was couched in broad and general language—almost to the extent of being platitudinous. Its subsequent and frequent amendment by Congressional acts and its innumerable interpretations by judicial and administrative decisions have left the original act hardly discernible. Perhaps no other single act of Congress has sired so much case law, or so many legislative enactments and administrative edicts affecting so many Americans so often.

When the Sherman Antitrust Act was being considered it was an extremely popular issue. We were then emerging from the first of several cycles of corporate mergers and business consolidations. Price fixing conspiracies were rampant. These business practices were considered to be necessary to the development of our vastly expanding industrial power as America came of age in the post Civil War days. Yet all these practices appeared to have adverse effects upon prices paid by consumers, and many were replete with obvious and actual frauds upon investors of capital.

Thus it was natural that something had to be done to arrest the trend of consolidations and conspiracies. Every one favored corrective legislation, although there was no unanimity of opinion on procedures by which the mission should be accomplished. Both Presidential candidates in 1888 pledged in their party platforms to initiate legislation on this subject. In that era defending trusts was almost as dangerous as defending sin.

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Thus to oppose an antitrust bill was an extremely daring decision and one which might cause dire repercussions at the next election. Yet that is just what one United States Senator did—and strange as it may seem, he left no real or tangible evidence as to why he took this daring and independent step. That man was Senator Rufus Blodgett, a transplanted New England Yankee representing the state of New Jersey in the United States Senate.

Rufus Blodgett was born at Dorchester, New Hampshire, on October 9, 1834, into a well-established family of English lineage which could trace its roots to early settlers in 1635 in New England. A paternal grandfather, Asahel Blodgett, fought in the American Revolution. His father had been the sheriff of Grafton County, New Hampshire, for ten years. Other prominent members of the family included Judge Caleb Blodgett of the Superior Court of Massachusetts and Chief Justice Isaac N. Blodgett of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire.

His formal education was received at the Academy in Wentworth, New Hampshire. At an early age Rufus was apprenticed to the Amoskeag Locomotive Works in Manchester, New Hampshire. Thus began a life-long career in making, operating, and managing railroads. He advanced over a 20-year period to shop superintendent, to master mechanic, to division superintendent, to general superintendent. His service was with such lines as New York, New Haven and Stonington; Raritan and Delaware Bay; New Jersey Southern; and New York and Long Branch. He became general superintendent of the latter system in 1884, a position which he held until his death.

Rufus Blodgett also participated in other community and business affairs. While he lived in New Haven, Connecticut, he was a member of the Police Commission. He organized two banks in Long Branch, New Jersey, and was a director of two other banks, one in Princeton, New Jersey, and the other in South Amboy, New Jersey. At the time of his death, he was also president of the water company which supplied fresh water to many New Jersey coastal towns. He is credited in one newspaper account with being the first to advocate the bulkheading and jettying of

the ocean front and the consequent building up of Ocean Avenue in Long Branch. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church of Long Branch, Masonic Lodge of New Haven, Connecticut, and the Elks Lodge of Long Branch.

Mr. Blodgett was twice married. His first marriage was to Amanda M. Hoyt of Wentworth, New Hampshire, in 1861. Two children were born of this union—a daughter, Amanda Louisa, who died in childhood; and a son, Harry Thornton, who was employed in the passenger department of the New York and Long Branch Railroad. After the death of his first wife, Rufus Blodgett married Mrs. Christiana Simpson in 1879 and no children were born of this union.

Senator Blodgett died October 3, 1910, in Long Branch, and a delegation of Long Branch Masons accompanied his remains to the village cemetery at Wentworth, New Hampshire, for burial. There are apparently no direct descendants of Rufus Blodgett living today. His son died childless. This writer has interviewed two distant relatives now living in Long Branch, Miss Elizabeth M. Blodgett and Miss Loretta H. Blodgett, whose grandfather was a distant cousin of Senator Rufus Blodgett. A conversation also was held with Rufus Simpson of Oakhurst, New Jersey, whose grandmother was the widow, Mrs. Christiana Simpson. He was named for Senator Blodgett.

The family relations between the Blodgetts and Simpsons were not close. While the two Blodgett families lived but a few blocks apart in Long Branch, their contacts also were few. Rufus Blodgett apparently felt no great regard for the family of his second wife. He willed his entire estate to his son, leaving his widow only $1. The son lost the modest fortune left him and, upon death, his burial had to be arranged by the other Blodgett families.

The distant relatives described Rufus Blodgett as a mean, stingy, contemptible, and miserly old man with few friends. Yet he was reported to be a completely honest man. This writer was greatly surprised to find no permanent record, monument or memento of him in Long Branch. Mr. E. T. M. Carr, also a retired general superintendent of the New York and Long Branch Railroad, seems to be the only other person in town who

remembers him. Mr. Carr characterized Senator Blodgett as a typical "tall and lanky Yankee." He further described him as a sober man whom he never knew to take a drink, and a strong Mason. Mr. Carr has Senator Blodgett's Masonic manual. It was said that he was a man of strong will and was hard to dissuade from anything upon which he had set his mind. Mr. Carr reported that Blodgett hired him in 1882 as a 12 year-old telegrapher. He related an early experience which he said was typical of Blodgett, the railroader. Messages to be handled over the wire had to be taken down in longhand, which created problems of spelling. Mr. Carr once asked Blodgett how to spell "sieve"—specifically as to the order of sequence of the "i" and the "e." Mr. Blodgett replied, "Make them both look alike, put the dot in the middle, and let them take their choice."

The library of the New Jersey Historical Society contains five different histories of Monmouth County, New Jersey, dating from 1885 to 1922. Not one of these volumes contains so much as an index reference to Senator Rufus Blodgett. In 1940, a pictorial history of Long Branch was prepared as a WPA project with the co-operation of the Mayor of Long Branch. This book contains only one small reference to Senator Blodgett. The enigma of the man is illustrated by this lack of adequate records of his service to the community—even though he probably ascended as high in national prominence and public life as did any other resident of Long Branch.

Senator Rufus Blodgett was a life-long Democrat. He climbed to a position of great influence in New Jersey Democratic party affairs; and then fell into disrepute only to rise again like the ancient phoenix from the ashes of his defeat. His political career was dotted with more up-and-downs than a roller coaster.

He began his public service by being the first Democrat to be elected to his county Board of Freeholders, the legislative branch of the New Jersey county government. He also served his county three terms in the State Assembly, where he had a reputation as a level-headed man with a high degree of political shrewdness. In 1880 he was a delegate to the Democratic Presidential nominating convention and in 1884 was chairman of the

State Democratic Presidential Campaign Committee. By 1886 he had climbed within the party structure to the very top, where he occupied the position of State House Manager, comparable today to being chairman of the State Central Committee of the Party. He also had a personal friendship with Henry C. Kelsey, the Secretary of State of New Jersey—then an appointive job of a highly political nature and thus held by one with high party influence.

Governor Leon Abbett had urged the passage and enforcement of a railroad tax law, and thus had embittered himself with railroadmen—such as Rufus Blodgett. The Central Railroad of New Jersey, of which the New York and Long Branch line was a subsidiary, had been especially outspoken against the tax. It was thus logical that the railroad interests would want to present a candidate for Governor who favored repeal of the tax. It was equally logical that party-man Blodgett should be the candidate. Governor Abbett was not actively seeking the renomination in the summer of 1886 as he desired to be free to "move up" to the United States Senator's seat in the spring of 1887.

Blodgett, as party chairman, called the nominating convention to order, passed the gavel to a temporary chairman, and then sat back to watch his nomination as governor go quickly through the convention. He was confident of Kelsey's support, and thus felt assured of votes controlled by Kelsey. But the fortunes of party politics were not with Rufus Blodgett. In conferences held late at night in smoke-filled hotel rooms, Kelsey was persuaded that Blodgett was a political liability because of friendliness with Republicans; that Blodgett couldn't win; and that he had better support another Democrat or else risk the loss of his job as Secretary of State. This last bit of reasoning appears fallacious in retrospect, as Blodgett could probably have won and thus Kelsey could have continued to hold his post in exchange for his support of Blodgett. In a late midnight meeting, where stray delegates were finally rounded up, the nomination went to Robert S. Green (with Kelsey's support), and for the first time Rufus Blodgett found that his "friends" had pulled the rug from under him. The meeting adjourned with Blodgett's dele-

gates in a rage and making noisy protests. But the die was cast. Green went on to win the election and thus make Kelsey the dominant figure in New Jersey Democratic politics. The party was now divided into two groups. One was the Abbett-Kelsey-Green combination and the other was a motley scattering of malcontents.

Thus the scene was set in the 1887 State Assembly for the proceedings to elect a United States Senator. (At that time Senators were elected by state legislatures—not by popular vote.) Retired Governor Abbett was endorsed by the Democratic Party caucus and was the odds-on favorite. The Anti-Abbett forces thought it would be sweet revenge indeed if they could win the election for a Democrat who had been trampled upon by Abbett. Thus Blodgett's name began to be discussed. The Republicans knew from the beginning that they had only a very remote chance, and so they asked the independent Democrats to submit some names of anti-Abbett Democrats. The Republicans seemed to favor any Democrat except Abbett or an Abbett man. The Assembly remained deadlocked for several months.

There followed a series of conferences between Republicans and independent Democrats. This close contact between political opposites naturally brough much adverse publicity to both groups. Blodgett was denounced as not being a true Democrat, and the charge was made that if elected he would vote with the Republicans. There is evidence that at one stage in the negotiations Blodgett agreed to withdraw, if his presence in the race would embarrass the Republican leaders.

An elaborate signal system was set up whereby the Republican votes would be cast along lines set by Assemblyman Ackerman (the first Republican to vote under the alphabetical system). If Ackerman stayed with Sewell (his favorite among the Republican hopefuls), then each Republican was free to vote as he pleased. But, if Ackerman announced himself for any other Republican or for any Democrat, then all Republicans were to follow his lead. When it became apparent that the Republican cause was lost, the word was passed to Ackerman to lead the break. It is reported that Ackerman had to be told that Blodgett was

the man. Most Republicans fell into line. Blodgett was declared to be elected with a total of 43 votes from Republicans and malcontent Democrats against Abbett's total of 38. Bedlam broke out with Abbett's friends crying out in rage. One Abbett supporter is reported to have thrown a book at the chairman of the Assembly. Blodgett was stunned when he first received word of his election but recovered fast, and it is reported that "with a wild whoop of joy, he tossed the big sombrero he held in his hands, to the ceiling."

The Republicans lived to rue the day of their coalition with Blodgett. With Blodgett in Washington, the resourceful Abbett was left to build up one of New Jersey's most powerful political machines. Thus Abbett was able to regain the Governor's chair in 1899, to place the name of Grover Cleveland in nomination at the 1892 National Democratic Convention, and to make preparations to challenge Blodgett's Senate seat in 1893. He did not achieve this last honor, however, as he was prevailed upon to allow a last minute substitution of his principal lieutenant, James Smith, Jr., who succeeded Blodgett as United States Senator.

There was nothing at all spectacular or sensational about Rufus Blodgett's term as United States Senator. He served as a member of the following committees: Fisheries, Manufacturers, Pensions, and Post Office and Post Roads. This writer has been unable to find any major addresses he delivered on the floor of the Senate. Contemporary accounts of his service characterized it as being at the beck and call of Sewell (his Republican predecessor); "so colorless that few remember that he was ever a Senator"; and "for three years he has permitted himself to rest almost as inconspicuous in the United States Senate as he had been out of it." One writer of that period described him as an "uncouth and unlettered railroad man" thrust by a stroke of luck or fortune into a place with the rulers of the world.

No account of the political life of Rufus Blodgett would be complete without some reference to his activities after returning from his tour in the Senate. He continued active in local politics and, in some respects, in the State. He was immediately elected mayor of Long Branch, serving from 1893 to 1898. In 1896 he

was again sent as delegate to the National Democratic Convention and was pledged against William Jennings Bryan's silver reforms. He came home bitter and disappointed. At the time of his death in 1910 it was reported that one of his regrets during his last illness was that he could not participate as fully as he desired in support of the campaign then being conducted, in which the Democrats of New Jersey were facing all kinds of criticism for giving their gubernatorial nomination to college president Woodrow Wilson.

Moving now to the specific treatment of Senator Rufus Blodgett's relationship to the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, we find a rather definite aura of mystery. Senator John Sherman, Republican of Ohio, introduced his bill for control of trusts and combines on Dec. 4, 1889, and it was assigned the significant number of Senate File 1, 1st Session, 51st Congress. It proceeded through a stormy period of committee hearings, debates and amendments. Senator Blodgett was not a member of any committee which considered the bill, nor is there any record that he ever appeared before any committee while the bill was under consideration. During this time six votes were recorded upon amendments to the bill or upon motions relating to its place on the calendar. The *Congressional Record* lists Senator Blodgett as absent on each of these preliminary votes. Yet on April 8, 1890, he was present and voted against another amendment presented that day; and later in the same day he cast the only negative vote on the entire bill when it was presented for final passage.

The recorded vote on the complete passage of the bill by the United States Senate on that date indicates 52 yea; 1 nay; and 29 absent. Thus Senator Rufus Blodgett appeared of record as the only Senator desiring to be known as opposed to the bill to control trusts. And he still remained silent as to his reasons.

After a hard-fought battle through the House of Representatives and two different conference committees, the bill was finally passed by the Senate on June 18, 1890, with no vote recorded, and by the House on June 20, 1890, by a narrow margin: 114 yea; 103 nay; and 80 not voting. President Harrison signed the bill July 2, 1890. Ironically, the bill was completely re-written by

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, in one of the conference committees, so that it did not have all the force and effect intended by Senator Sherman. Sherman is reported to have called it a "humbug" and "totally ineffective in dealing with combinations and trusts," but it "was the best that could be got." In his three-volume 1239-page autobiography covering his forty years in publice service, Senator Sherman actually devotes less than one-half a page to the Antitrust Act of 1890. It is also significant that the records show no correspondence between Senator Sherman and Senator Blodgett on this matter, although Sherman was a prolific writer, as is indicated by the collection in the Library of Congress known as "the Sherman Papers."

Very little publicity was given to Blodgett's single negative vote. Most newspapers of the day merely announced the passage of the bill, although some listed the vote and a few named Senator Blodgett as the lone dissenter. The Monmouth *Inquirer,* a weekly published in Freehold, the county seat of Blodgett's home county, neither mentions the breakdown of the vote nor Blodgett's name in its coverage of the passage of the bill by the Senate. This may have been a result of local politics, because the Monmouth *Democrat,* also published in Freehold, re-printed on April 17, 1890, a very complimentary editorial from the New York *Sun* of April 10, 1890. This editorial praised Blodgett for his "hard-headed and straight forward statesmanship," which was "not suppressed by an overwhelming weight of buncombe." It further cites Senator Blodgett "as the sole sure repository of common sense without shenanigan to be found in the United States Senate. This is fame indeed!"

Senator Blodgett's faculty for stepping across party lines has already been noted. One more incident seems worthy of mentioning, as it also relates to Senator Sherman. In the fall of 1890 Sherman drew considerable criticism from the press for his support of high tariffs on binder-twine, under the guise of protecting the farmer of small grains by eliminating competition between foreign twine and twine produced by trusts and combines in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On this issue Senator Blodgett was the only Democrat to join with 17 Republican

Senators (including Sherman) in a vain effort to defeat the bill to put binder-twine on the duty-free list. Thus Blodgett and Sherman were on the same side. Sherman's position may appear inconsistent with his support of the Antitrust legislation. It was, however, in line with the McKinley high tariff thinking of the times. Blodgett was again a maverick and was taken to task by his own Monmouth *Democrat,* which referred to him as "disloyal" and accused him of trying to "cast aside party obligations as if soiled garments."

This brings to a climax the story of the life, political adventures and unique decision of Senator Rufus Blodgett of New Jersey, but the account does not yield the answer to our original question. That question was—why? Why did Senator Blodgett vote against this bill without once having spoken out against it on the floor of the Senate?

This writer was unable to unearth any evidence of what became of the Senator's personal papers. It is presumed that they were dissipated by his son along with the family fortune. It is also doubted that any permanent record was made of the reason for his vote, for he was not that kind of man. Once a decision was made and his mind fixed, he proceeded without regard to others. His hard-headed Yankee mind would have required it to have been this way. In retrospect, one may well consider what he would have done had this event happened in a more modern era when the aggressive news reporters for the press, radio, and television would have immediately demanded an explanation. He probably would have given it in curt and unimproved language, and then refused to amplify it further.

One can now only resort to conjecture in seeking a reason for his vote. Railroad interests seem to be the most logical suspect. It was common knowledge that the railroads were concerned about government controls, having recently been brought under a high degree of control themselves by the Interstate Commerce Commission Act of 1887. Several of the amendments proposed to the Sherman Act and much of the discussion on the floor of the House and Senate related to the effects of the bill upon railroads. Blodgett was a railroader—first, last, and always. Railroads

had been his entire life. His logic would undoubtedly lead him to conclude that the bill was anti-railroad—and that would have been enough for this hard-headed individualist.

A fitting closing tribute to the independent Senator Rufus Blodgett is the following excerpt taken from a privately printed genealogy of the Blodgett family, published in 1906 while Rufus Blodgett was still living:

"As a railroad manager, a politician, and a businessman he has ranked among the prominent citizens of New Jersey for more than a quarter of a century. As a life-long democrat he has held many of the most important political offices in the gift of his party, and in the councils of the New Jersey Democracy he still exerts a powerful influence in shaping their acts and policies."

A NOTE ON SOURCES

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Victorian Vacations at the Jersey Shore

HAROLD F. WILSON

Mr. Boynton, who has saved so many lives this season, . . . was offered 50¢ by one gentleman after the latter had been dragged ashore. Mr. Boynton handed him back 49¢ in change, remarking that he did not usually accept more than the person's life was worth.[1]

A few adventuresome souls had visited such early New Jersey shore resorts as Cape May and Long Branch by the turn of the 18th century, but summer people did not arrive in numbers before the mid-19th century. As late as 1869, as shown by the above quotation, if a bather was unable to cope with the undertow, his life depended on the skill of a volunteer. Within a few years, however, paid life guards began to appear at the more populous beaches.

The antics of some of the vacationists drew criticisms from contemporary writers. Some of the critics showed a strained reaction to evidences of non-restraint, of "abandon", once the summer visitor had reached the shore. Comment frequently appeared concerning this in the early years of Atlantic City, during the period of the boarding houses, which preceded the hotels. Cape May, apparently, was more sedate. In 1843, one observer at Ryan's Boarding House in Atlantic City described how many boarders went down to the beach and danced to the strains of "Fisher's Hornpipe," played by a single fiddle, "a regular jump-up-and-down, crow-over-Jonathan, and figure-in-Jemima terpsichorean fling." This continued for some time until the dancers were tired out. At high tide, the young people "bathed, . . . going among the sand hills to disrobe. . . . The hilarity of the

The Contributor of this article, which comprises part of a talk given by him at the Ninth Annual New Jersey Historical Conference, at the Congress Hotel, Cape May, June 6, 1959, is author of *The Jersey Shore*, and chairman of the Department of Social Science, State College, Glassboro, New Jersey.

[1]Item from Cape May in the Salem (N.J.) *National Standard*, Sept. 15, 1869.

occasion culminated," wrote this guest, "when the men carried the blushing and screaming maidens to the tops of the steep sand hills and tying their feet together, rolled them down to the water's edge."[2]

The most disturbing problem of a holiday at the shore was the voracious mosquito. A letter written to a Philadelphia paper from the Surf House, Atlantic City, on August 11, 1858, bemoaned the fact that there was no peace because of the mosquitoes. The visitor said that smudge fires were built in many of the houses, a board was placed on top of the chimney, and the house was "thoroughly smoked". When guests re-entered, they had to use their handkerchiefs for masks. But even this expedient was not much help; some of the excursionists "begged train conductors" to start home ahead of schedule because of the scourge.[3]

All the area along the Jersey shore was similarly afflicted. A letter written from Dennisville, Cape May County, in August, 1881, to the *Mt. Holly Mirror,* described a horse-and-buggy ride from the railroad station at Woodbine, four miles to Dennisville, through underbrush "clouded by mosquitoes of vast penetration and blue-headed flies as big as bumblebees."[4]

The situation in the latter part of the 19th century seemed so hopeless that one shore newspaper adopted a defeatist attitude. In an issue appearing on September 1st, 1885, a Freehold paper advised, "Never kill or drive off a skeeter; let him have his fill. Expose your body so as to be bitten all over, after which no skeeter will bite you for a skeeter never is known to place his sucker in the same place that one had been before him, even if it were fifty years ago."[5]

The matter of what to take to the shore for a vacation in these early days received considerable attention. A number of contemporary pamphlets on shore etiquette can be found in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. One of

[2]A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 41.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 71.

[4]Letter to *Mt. Holly Mirror,* August 17, 1881, clipping in Cooper Scrapbook in the Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden.

[5]*Monmouth Inquirer* (Freehold), September 1, 1885, quoted in *Highlights* (W.P.A. magazine), Newark, Vol. I (December, 1936), p. 47.

these, called "Life at the Seashore", published at Princeton in 1880, advises that "A broad-brimmed hat for the ladies is indispensable. An opera or spy glass will be found useful and interesting in bringing distant objects into view. Such objects are vessels, fish, bathers, etc. The use of one is not injurious to the eye. . . . Simple medicines should be taken to the seashore, especially for diarrhoea and constipation. . . . When people are going to stay in an elevated story of a hotel, a half-inch rope as a fire escape may be a prudent provision . . . and it might not be amiss to carry a small cord to be borne when bathing and thrown out for relief in peril."

The question of what to wear when bathing at the shore was the basis for much advice. From this same Princeton pamphlet of 1880 came these suggestions: "When persons go to the shore with only their families or intimate friends, they may use their own everyday clothes with which to go into the water. If practicable as to weather and those present, they may go in naked. This latter may be the better way. But where there is a mixed company, or strangers, a suit is necessary. It may be hired or purchased. The costume should consist of twilled flannel, strong and colored brown, blue, or gray. The garment should be in one piece, and for women consist of pantaloons and coat over them. It should fit loose, be buttoned and not tied. Some add rubbers or sandals, and some a broad-brimmed hat, but as it is desirable to plunge the head under water, this encumbrance is unnecessary."[7]

The whole picture of bathing costumes at the Jersey shore affected foreign visitors adversely. One Englishwoman wrote an article in *Harpers Magazine* in 1876, describing the situation at Long Branch. She deplored especially what the women wore. "Here in New Jersey, the women almost always wear a coarse dark flannel, much too large, and crowned with a rough straw hat more fit for a gutter than a day's wear. The costume's ugliness attracts unpleasant attention." The author contrasts the ugly costumes worn by the Americans very unfavorably with those

[6]William Ulyat, *Life at the Sea-Shore* (Princeton, 1880), pp. 25-26, pamphlet in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library.

[7]*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

worn by French women. "Their bathing outfit is a delicate rose flannel, with pleatings of silk. The French lady also wears pink hose and straw shoes."

As for the gentlemen on the New Jersey shore, the Englishwoman exclaimed, "What scarecrows they are! Description could do them no justice. Their suits consist of a damp woolen shirt and trousers tied with a string. . . . That so many Americans," she concluded, "are to be found who are willing to put them on and walk unflinchingly across the stretch of sand between the disrobing hut and the surf, is proof that the bravery of the nation should not be lightly impugned."[8]

The most important diversion of a shore holiday was, of course, "sea-bathing". It is evident that most people in those days could not swim. Considering the cumbersome costumes worn, it is no wonder. But "sea-bathing" was considered to be very exhilarating and healthful. In a pamphlet at the Pennsylvania Historical Society library, entitled "Ocean Grove, Its Origins and Progress," published in 1874, its praise is sung as follows: "The joy of the ocean bath is great. The long rolling waves gently shock the frame and stir the sluggish blood to fresher motion. The torpid liver finds itself compelled to join the general activity. The nerves respond and scatter tingling sensations of pleasure over the frame. The rapid action of all the parts clears the throat from its huskiness and the voice peals out in laughter. The surf lubricates the joints like oil. Grave men fling out their limbs like colts in pasture. Dignified women sport like girls at recess. Young men and maidens forget how far society keeps them apart and together they dash in, in entire forgetfulness of all society may think."[9]

Advice was also given to vacationists on what to do and how to act when they took the "sea-bath". In another pamphlet, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, published in Philadelphia in 1885, entitled "Summer Days in New Jersey," six

[8]Olive Logan, "Life at Long Branch", *Harpers Magazine,* Vol. 53, September, 1876, p. 489.

[9]E. H. Stokes, *Ocean Grove, Its Origins and Progress* (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 59.

separate admonitions were printed, four of which deserve mention here.

1. Before bathing in surf, run briskly up and down the beach for ten minutes. If you wear any lacing around the chest, throw it off and let your lungs have a hearty chance for all the air they can take. If any cheerful and willing muscular fellow is willing to race with you, have a foot-race on the sands.

2. Don't use soap in salt water. It will make you dismally sticky.

3. If your teeth are of the kind which did not grow in your mouth, beware lest a wave knock them out.

4. Now bounce through the surf with a hop, skip, and jump. Hold your fingers to your ears and your thumbs to your nostrils. Now dance, leap, tumble, swim, kick, float, or make any other motion that seems good to you.[10]

Such were some highlights in the experiences of the 19th-century Jersey shore visitor. Despite the restrictions of costume and the attacks of the mosquitoes, it is evident that he enjoyed himself. Certainly he let nothing prevent him from coming back for more.

[10]*Summer Days in New Jersey,* pamphlet published in 1885.

EDITORIAL

The first sensation that a new editor experiences, assuming that he is capable of sensation after the initial shock of finding himself in the editor's chair, is a pervasive and disturbing awe. Not all editors acknowledge this vocational peculiarity. Some try to hide it; some give it a favorable coating and congratulate themselves publicly on the privilege of moving into the seats of the mighty. Most of them are aware, nevertheless, that the seats of the mighty are not easily filled; in fact, it is customary for a new man to wonder—in awe—how the filling of his own particular seat could ever have been comfortably managed by his predecessor.

Precisely this quality of awe afflicts the present editor as he contemplates the accomplishments of Mr. Donald Sinclair. Over a period of eight years Mr. Sinclair has guided the destinies of this magazine, bringing to it a sense of form and style, an air of liveliness and a painstaking scholarship that are rarely found together and, when found, still more rarely appreciated. It must be added, moreover, that Mr. Sinclair has had no opportunity to develop these editorial qualities in the quiet of his study, remote from the feverish contacts that distressed, say, Matthew Arnold. On the contrary, he has been discharging the responsibilities of Curator of Special Collections at the Rutgers University Library during this time, making the *Proceedings* the ward of his leisure (and, one hopes, happiest) hours. It is to this tradition of full-time competence, with no time for performance, that the new editor finds himself, awfully, heir.

Yet it should not be supposed that the Editor has nothing in his mind but misgivings. Somewhere, in the distant future, the image of a magnificent magazine presents itself to his vision. Each of its articles will be sound in substance, brilliant in execution, flawless in style. The reminiscences will be reliable, the observations bright, the analyses profound; every contributor will be as learned as Gibbon and as entertaining as Herodotus; and over every issue will brood a humane and inquiring spirit, re-

lating all that is said about the history of New Jersey to the existing hopes and fears, joys and sorrows—in a word, the lives—of the men, women and children who make up our beloved State.

How far the present issue advances in the direction of this ideal image must be left to the reader to decide. The Editor would like to speak eloquently for his first offering but must content himself with a few scattered notes. Judging by the leading article, he would be delighted to see instruction in English style for the magazine taken over by the Netherlands Government; he hopes, indeed, that he will not have to wait for Henry Hudson's next anniversary for another contribution from the same source. The important article on collecting Indian trade relics, which gives lustre to "Antiquer's Attic", should be of unusual interest to collectors anthropologically inclined. The question which Professor Decker leaves unanswered in his sketch of Rufus Blodgett should provoke thought—and perhaps another article—from interested readers. Finally, members of the Society are reminded that the piece on Lilly Martin Spencer is intended as companion to an exhibition of the artist's paintings at the Society's headquarters, extending from October 28th to November 21st. See you there!

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ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

THE question has been raised by "Antiquer's Attic" as to what constitutes an antique, and now Hunter Ross suggests where we may look for them. Edward Hunter Ross is Curator of Ethnological Collections at the Newark Museum. He has been with the National Park Service and on the staff of Colonial Williamsburg. His Army service during World War II included two years as Historical Officer of the Antilles Department. These varied experiences have served to strengthen his interest in three-dimensional objects, and in this article he points the way to new avenues of interest for collectors.

ANTIQUES ARE WHERE YOU FIND THEM

EDWARD HUNTER ROSS

Collecting antiques for their beauty, their sentimental association, their monetary value, their importance as documents, or for any other reason has marked the full course of our century. As a result, collectors and students sometimes lament the passing of the days when there was still opportunity for original research "before everything was picked over". Oddly enough, a source which has received relatively scant attention is one we have known since school days: the Indian trade.

Fur traders have long been recognized among the explorers and pioneers who significantly influenced America's destiny. History stresses the value of furs to Europe and mentions their being exchanged for bright cloths among other things. But what happened to the bright cloths? Some of them have found their way to museums and private collections as the wrapping of a medicine bundle, as part of a dress, as the lining of a cradle in which a papoose was carried, or in one of a number of other forms. Anthropology collections offer many fabrics for the student of 19th century printed cottons.

Use of whiskey and rum in trade has been cited time and again as a black mark against us in our relations with the first Americans. One of its implications seems to have escaped many collectors of early American glass. The liquor was transported in bottles, and even if the bottles were discarded, they would remain whole or as fragments where they were emptied. As a matter of fact, the State of Alabama has assembled a representative collection of 18th and 19th century bottles (some of them intact) through archaeological excavation of Indian sites.

Admittedly, the objects traded to Indians were not of the highest quality, nor is it likely that many would survive in good condition. Nevertheless, scholars concerned with the documentary value of antiques have available to them an area for research in existing ethnological collections, and another area in archaeological collections, which will increase as investigations continue.

One of the most important events in New Jersey archaeology was the investigation of a site near Minisink Island in the Delaware River by George G. Heye and George H. Pepper of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in 1914. In addition to Indian material, the archaeologists recovered several objects of European manufacture and a remarkable pewter pipe. A similar pipe, unearthed some years later in the same area, is in the Charles A. Philhower Collection at Rutgers University (see illustration.) Where did they come from? Concerning the Mohawks, Roger Williams wrote in 1643, "They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes." Pewter, however, is a European alloy, and it is possible that a white pewterer, familiar with Indian ways and tastes, cast these pieces and others which have been found in New York State and Canada. Since other evidence showed that the Minisink site had been abandoned early in the 18th century, the pipes may well be among the earliest examples of Colonial pewter.

Other Indian sites have yielded trifid, slip-end and seal-top pewter spoons, iron and brass kettles, coins, thimbles and buckles among many metal objects. All of these are characteristic European and American antiques as distinct from specific inventions for the Indian trade such as the tomahawk-pipe. That early "combination tool", produced by ironworkers in England and France, found ready acceptance in America.

Surprisingly large quantities of silver exist in Indian collections, and even more is mentioned in early documents. Some 8300 silver ornaments were made by Philadelphia smiths for Indian trade between 1758 and 1762. A study by Harrold E. Gillingham accents the work of Philadelphia silversmiths but suggests also the effect of Redskin vanity on London craftsmen.[1] Silver "Armbands & hairbobs," "Wrist bands & Nap Rings," "Ear Bobs," "Broches Round" and "Broches made like a Heart" were part of a large order sent to London in November, 1761. The "broches," sometimes spelled "broaches" or "brotches," were apparently the most popular items (one trader reported the loss of six gross in 1754), and still appear on shirts worn in the Great Lakes area. The form is an open frame with a pin hinged on the front to pierce cloth pulled through the central opening.

Although gifts of brass ornaments frequently played a part in the councils of Colonial leaders with Indians during the 17th cen-

tury, silver probably did not appear until about 1730. By the middle of the century the presentation of silver ornaments to chiefs had become *de rigueur* for government officials. The favorite gift was the gorget, a crescent of silver perhaps four or five inches wide, which hung on the breast from a cord around the neck.[2] It descends directly from the piece which covered the join of helmet and breastplate in 14th century armor. With the gradual discard of armor, the gorget remained as an army insigne to distinguish officers from enlisted men, its use surviving into the 20th century in some cases. Chiefs would cherish a gorget, especially after the British government authorized their agents to designate them "gorget captains". The famous Iroquois leader, Joseph Brant, wears his in the portrait Romney painted in 1776.

Maker's marks are relatively rare on trade silver, but gorgets exist with the marks of such distinguished Colonial smiths as Barent Ten Eyck of Albany and Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia. Richardson, by the way, was the first American to strike a medal for presentation to the Indians. Medals became the favorite gift of the American government, though the award of gorgets continued through the 1820's. Such objects reveal that 18th and 19th century silversmiths have received insufficient credit for the variety of their product. Among the country's largest collections of early American and European silver must be included that of the Museum of the American Indian.

With the possible exception of the feather headdress, nothing is more "typically Indian" to most of us than the beadwork with which Indian women turned monochrome deerskins into fields of glowing color. The suggestion that the glass beads are European antiques comes as a surprise to many. Yet these mainstays of the fur trade came to America first from the glass blowers of Venice, and later from competitors in Bohemia, England, France and even Japan. A collector of Victorian beaded bags should be able to recognize many of the same beads on a Sioux cradle or a Cheyenne moccasin.

Bead manufacture was a simple process for the factories on Venice's island of Murano. The blower gathered molten glass on the end of his tube and blew it into a bubble. His assistant then fixed a rod to the opposite side of the bubble and walked or ran away from the blower, thus drawing the glass into a more and more slender hollow tube (sometimes more than 100 feet long). After the tube cooled, it could be cut into beads which were tossed in sand and ashes to round the sharp edges.

The beads then went westward to stock the shelves of trading posts along with English guns, German brass bells, French cloths, New England steel knives and a host of other materials. From them the Indian could select what he wanted in exchange for his beaver pelts or buffalo robes.

In the Far West trade, New Jersey had a significant place that few recognize. The photograph of the

great Oglala Sioux chief, Red Cloud, shows him wearing a breastplate of horizontally strung tubes generally known as "hair-pipes" (see illustration). This familiar costume adornment and the hair-pipes themselves have been the subject of several studies, the most complete being the recent paper by John C. Ewers of the United States National Museum.[3] Whether Red Cloud's breastplate is of shell or bone hair-pipes is not clear. If it dates after 1880, they are probably bone; if before 1880, they are almost certainly shell and can be accepted as "New Jersey antiques", the product of a family business which lasted for more than 100 years in Bergen County.

John W. Campbell established his home in Pascack (now Park Ridge) before 1775 and entered the well-established industry of making wampum. Apparently the decline of wampum as a medium of exchange after the Revolution led John and his two sons to diversify the business. They developed the manufacture of what the traders called hair-pipes but what Pascack called simply pipes.

Essentially, they are tubular shell beads, a form of ornament used by Indians since prehistoric times. The name suggests that such ornaments were originally worn in the hair, at least to some extent, though direct historical references to such a use are rare. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that tubular beads made of conch shell existed. The contribution of the Campbells was the development of tools and methods for quantity production.

For raw material, they obtained conch shells *(Strombus gigas)* which ships brought in lots of five or ten thousand from West Indian ports.[4] Wives and daughters of farmers augmented their incomes at home by breaking off the lips of the shells and roughing out the general form. The finishing and the difficult drilling were done only by the Campbells at their "Mint", a name which probably survived from the wampum manufacture.

Among a complete set of Campbell tools in the collections of the Bergen County Historical Society are a steel drill for perforating the shell's long axis, the bow by which it was rotated, and the wood and iron breast plate with which the driller maintained pressure and direction. Ancient and simple as the technique was, it demanded high skill and steadiness to pierce a six-inch tube when a slight deviation could ruin the work. The skill and steadiness were developed by workers who could drill as many as one hundred pipes a day. Refinements and experiments by the Campbells led, some time before 1850, to the invention of a pipe-drilling machine whereby one man could drill six pipes at once, four hundred a day. Rather than patent the device, the family guarded it as a secret by which they could practically monopolize the business. Two drilling machines are known to have been made, and one still survives in the Pascack Historical Museum at Park Ridge.

Meanwhile, John Jacob Astor and other Indian traders purchased the pipes in increasing quantities

to meet the demand their activities had created in the West. An invoice of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1804 referred to "24 Wampum Hairpipes", and there is little reason to doubt that they were from Bergen County.

The first uses of the hair-pipe, apparently, were as hair and ear ornaments and in necklaces. The breastplate such as Red Cloud wore probably developed in the 1850's and spread rapidly enough to become a characteristic part of the Plains Indian costume by the 1870's. Just before 1880, the invention of bone hair-pipes gave the Indians a sturdier material than the relatively fragile shell. It also exposed Bergen County to overpowering competition from the Chicago stockyards. In 1889, the surviving member of the Campbell family closed the factory.

The examples suggest a few of the possibilities the Indian trade has offered or can offer to students of American antiques. There is always something new in the old. Like gold, antiques are where you find them.

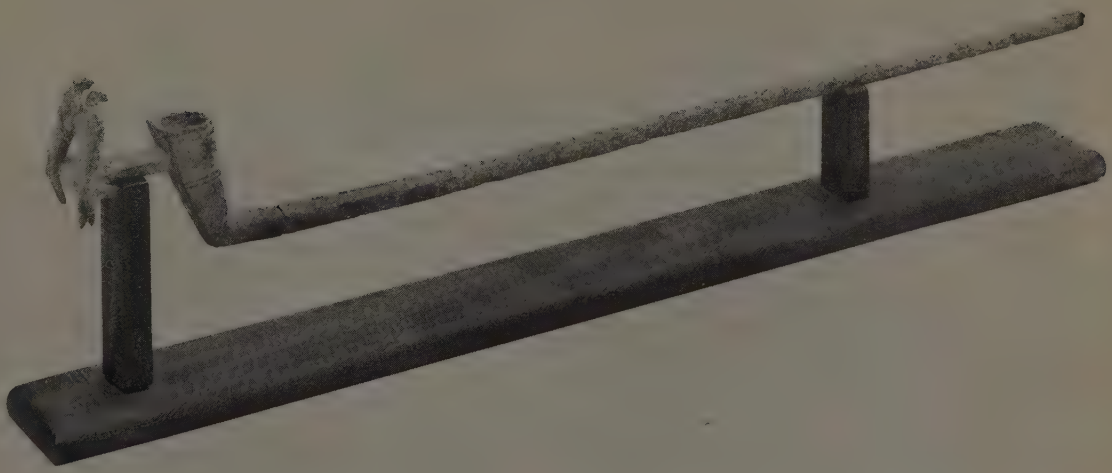
[1]Harrold E. Gillingham, "Indian Silver Ornaments", *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. LVIII (1934), No. 2, pp. 97-126.

[2]*Ibid.* Also Stephen H. P. Pell, "The Gorget—As a Defense, As a Symbol, and As an Ornament", *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum,* Vol. IV, No. 5 (Sept. 1937), pp. 126-141.

[3]John C. Ewers, "Hair Pipes in Plains Indian Adornment, a Study in Indian and White Ingenuity," Anthropological Paper No. 50 in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 164,* Washington, 1957.

[4]Frances A. Westervelt, "The Final Century of the Wampum Industry in New Jersey." Reprint from *Papers and Proceedings,* Bergen County Historical Society, 1924, p. 16.

INDIAN TRADE OBJECTS. Chief Red Cloud wearing breastplate of hair-pipes. Photograph reproduced courtesy of The Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.



INDIAN TRADE OBJECTS. Pewter pipe in the Charles A. Philhower Collection at Rutgers University.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

In this department are combined short articles based on holdings of the Society's library, book reviews, and listings of new publications about New Jersey. The listings, which have not appeared in recent issues, will be brought up to date during the coming year.

The contributor of the first article, President of the Woman's Branch of the Society and no mean hand herself with a book of recipes, is too well known to our members to require an introduction. Professor Carlos R. Allen, Jr., is a member of the faculty of Colorado State University. Miss Miriam Studley, long familiar to readers of the magazine, is principal New Jersey librarian of the Newark Public Library.

FROM THE LIBRARY

Isabella Ashfield's Receipt Book

ELIZABETH LYMAN FRELINGHUYSEN

In the *Guide* to the Society's manuscripts collection compiled by Fred Shelley, our librarian, in 1957, there is listed a cookbook. This book is enclosed in parchment covers, and must be one of the earliest of its kind in the country. On the title page is the inscription "Isabella Ashfield, Her Book, April 1st, 172—", and lower down on the page is written "Elizabeth Ashfield, Her Book, January, 1750-1."

Isabella Morris Ashfield was the eighth daughter of Lewis Morris and Isabella Graham Morris. Her mother was of Scottish descent; her father was nephew to Lewis Morris, of Tintern, Monmouthshire, Wales, the first of his name to come to this country. Another nephew of Lewis I, Lewis Morris II, inherited his uncle's lands in New York and 3500 acres in Monmouth County, New Jersey. Lewis Morris II was prominent in both states. In New Jersey he was a member of the Governor's Council and Governor of the State; Monmouth County and Tintern Falls were named for him, as well as Morris County and Morristown. A sister of Isabella Morris married Anthony White, builder of "Buccleuch" on the Raritan at New Brunswick.

Printed cookbooks were extremely rare in England in the 16th and 17th centuries, as were printed books of all kinds. In the Colonies the first cookbook was not published until 1742 in Williamsburg. It was customary for the ladies of the family to write down their receipts and those of their friends, or to copy them from a printed cookbook and to pass them along to the next generation, even as we do today.

In Mrs. Ashfield's book we start off with "Soupes"—crawfish, onion, pease among them. Crawfish soup was made with a gallon of water,

a brace of male carps (in those days people had ponds for fresh water fish), lobsters and no less than 200 crawfish!

In the porridge section we note that what then went by the name of porridge was not made of cereals; a cereal porridge was usually called a "Gruel" or a "Bouilli". A receipt for "Brown Duck Porrige" starts off in no small way by stewing a leg of beef overnight, then adding turnips, then toasted French "roales", which were toasted in front of the fire and were often used to thicken sauces along with "flower" and butter; finally, after almost twenty-four hours of preparing for it, the duck enters the scene and gets into the pot.

What we would call a stew today was called by different names, and "Herrico" is a mutton stew with turnips. There are several "Ragues," of hog's ears for one (this name is spelt in many ways, "ragoo" being one of the nicest). Here we find "Frigasea's Of Chickens," rabbits and, of all things, mussels! One is advised to beat cutlets and Scotch collops—which seem to be thin slices of veal or beef in both cases—with a rolling pin and with the back of a knife to tenderize them. Beef "Stakes" got the same treatment, beef being tougher in those days, not corn-fed as we know it today. In Mrs. Ashfield's book meats were usually stewed or broiled on a spit. The only way that they were baked seems to have been in pies, of which there was an infinite variety, of meats, green geese, and all kinds of fish.

Preservation of foods for the winter months was of vital importance. Pickling, drying, salting, and converting to marmalades and jellies were all methods used. Among the pickles there are radishes, tongue, french beans, artichokes, pigs, eels, and one of particular interest: "To pickle cucumbers, mango way." This receipt shows the influence of the budding British empire, since mangoes were grown in India, where the East India Company had been founded under Queen Elizabeth.

In the cake and sweet section, among the orange and lemon creams and the cheesecakes, we find that the puddings predominate as is only right. One receipt in particular is intriguing, having the odd title of "To Make Rice Pudding in Gutts"! After the first feeling of recoil one finds that it is only the container (belonging to a bullock) that is odd; otherwise it is our familiar nice rice pudding made with milk, cream, raisins and nutmeg.

There are many homemade fruit wines listed, mead, the syllabubs, flummeries, sack possets, and other delicious-sounding drinks of the day. The only drinks here with spirits in them are the "Plague Water" and *Aqua Mirabilis,* and these were portioned out like medicine, by the spoonful. The ingredients in these medicines were as many as thirty different herbs, spices, and the Gascon wine or claret from Bordeaux. It looks as if the people of the time put just about everything that they could

think of into these cure-alls, on the principle that something might work. Of course these were the days of herb lore, of which every woman knew the importance.

So, through the eyes of the ladies, we read of their "throwing in" some ingredient, or "flinging away the butter", "strewing" something over something in a dish, and "beating with yr hand for ½ an hour," and so we get a picture of their fun, their fears, their daily life, a little intimate glimpse into our past. We are grateful to Mrs. Ashfield and to the donor of the book, Ruth E. Fairchild.

REVIEWS

Alexander Hamilton, Youth to Maturity, 1755-1788. By Broadus Mitchell. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957. xvi, 675 pages.)

In this, the first of two projected volumes on Alexander Hamilton, we have the long-awaited result of Professor Broadus Mitchell's mature scholarship. To a generation brought up on a steady diet of praise for Thomas Jefferson, a scholarly, serious, fully documented, and sympathetic study of Jefferson's great adversary will come as a welcome addition to the literature of the period. Both sides must be seen if the roles of these two very great men are to be understood and appreciated. In this volume the author has undertaken to present the obverse of the coin; and to do so, he has summoned all the enthusiasm he can manage for a subject which is near and obviously dear to his heart.

Beginning the volume with the birth of Alexander Hamilton, presumably on the island of Nevis, the reader is taken successively through Hamilton's years of apprenticeship and education, his part in the pre-Revolutionary turmoil in New York, his rise to a position of trust on Washington's staff, and his tutelage in national finance under Morris during the Confederation period. All this time he was building a fund of knowledge and experience which proved invaluable later. Finally the story culminates in the contributions Hamilton made in bringing about the Constitutional Convention, his rather anti-climactic role in that Convention itself, and his vital role during the ratification controversy. Here we are forced to leave the story temporarily while we wait anxiously for Professor Mitchell's next volume.

Part of the success of the book is the obvious enthusiasm that the author has for his subject, but this also leads him to use colored words when he is discussing the actions of the opposition. The author apparently has as much difficulty in seeing the other side as did Hamilton and the other participants. In discussing the Confederation period, there is an apparent acceptance of the old *Critical Period* school of

thought. A fuller discussion of the historical background against which Hamilton played his role would have aided in understanding his motives and decisions.

It is a pleasure to see a book so well documented in an age when, apparently, publishers are bent on the eradication of all scholarly apparatus; however, much of this material could have been condensed or incorporated into the text. One annoying feature which may be laid at the feet of the publisher is the arrangement of superior letters in transposing manuscript contractions from the original. Most scholars today prefer, in works of this sort, that these abbreviations be expanded; but if the superior letters are retained, it is hardly essential to omit the previous line of type to accommodate them. This unnecessary solution destroys the design of the printed page and provides an annoying obstacle to the eye. Be this as it may, Professor Mitchell has produced a significant work—a major reinterpretation of one of the most important figures from our formative period. A final appraisal of the work must await the arrival of the second volume, but this bodes well to be the most important biography of Hamilton yet written.—Carlos R. Allen, Jr.

Mystic Seaport, A Camera Impression. By Samuel Chamberlain. (New York: Hastings House, 1959. 72 pages.)

Publication of another of the handsome paper-bound books of Samuel Chamberlain is always a welcome pictorial event. As a photographer long experienced in wringing the greatest interest from his subjects, Mr. Chamberlain is especially fortunate in Mystic Seaport, the Connecticut shipbuilding center of bygone days on the Mystic River.

From the early nineteenth century the port of Mystic was a thriving shipbuilding community and soon increased its prosperity even more as a whaling center. In later decades, however, the village dropped off to sleep on its river bank until the idea of the present museum was first conceived in 1929. Established to preserve the maritime tradition of New England, Mystic Seaport is principally a recreated seaport town with exhibition buildings housing the great collection of nautical material.

The 122 photographs with their captions cover the entire village. Into the streets and shops, the houses and the bank, the rope walk and the collections Mr. Chamberlain has peered with a discerning eye and a ready camera. The charm of the resulting scenes will entice the historically-minded traveler to Mystic for a first visit or send the book home with him to recall one of the most interesting of American museums. Louis S. Martel, official Mystic Seaport photographer, contributed about thirty of his own fine camera studies.—R. M. L.

Newark Conference Centennial History, 1857-1957, One Hundred Years of Methodism. Edited by Vernon Boyce Hampton. (New York. Printed by the Methodist Publishing House for the Historical Society of Newark Annual

Conference of the Methodist Church, 1957. 586 pages.)

Not in many years has New Jersey seen a church history so comprehensive as this anniversary volume received as a gift by the New Jersey Historical Society through the courtesy of the Reverend Marvin W. Green of Roselle Park. Its publication is the fruit of two years of intensive research by the Historical Society of the Newark Annual Conference.

Many persons have contributed to the compilation and writing of the Newark Conference Centennial History. Initiated under the leadership of the Reverend J. G. Lytle, the project was carried to completion under the editorship of Dr. Vernon B. Hampton of Staten Island, who is an official in the New York city school system, a member of the New Jersey Historical Society, and regional editor for New Jersey of Bishop Francis Asbury's Journal and letters, soon to be published.

Dr. Hampton and four other members of the board of editors have written many of the sections of the centennial history; others have been prepared by ministers and lay leaders, both men and women.

Obviously a book written in sections by many writers cannot be held to fixed standards of scholarship or organization. The materials used in its preparation were so many and so diverse that an extended formal bibliography would have been almost out of the question. So many are the personal names mentioned that an index would have greatly increased the bulk and cost of the volume, although it would have been extremely useful. However, there is a detailed table of contents. We strongly hope that Dr. Hampton himself, or the Library of Drew University, may publish a definitive annotated bibliography of sources for the study of Methodist history in New Jersey.

Several chapters of the book are based directly on original sources for Methodist history in North Jersey. Of particular interest are the chapters that summarize the New Jersey sections of Bishop Asbury's journals, and quote from the diary of Ezekiel Cooper.

It is in the biographical material that the lack of an index is most felt. There is a great deal of information about ministers and lay leaders in tabular form, as, for example, a list of over four hundred clergy with their length of service, place and date of death, age, and place of burial. There is a table of chaplains and their service, from 1861 to the present. There are thirty pages of brief biographies of bishops and other denominational leaders. But scattered through all sections of the text are interesting sidelights on the personality and work of these leaders that must not be missed. Most illuminating is the following story of a revival in Orange in 1830.

"My memory runs back to the spring of 1830," reminisces the Reverend J. L. Gilder in his semi-centennial sermon of Methodism in Orange, "when I, a beardless youth, with horse and saddle bags, entered

Orange for the purpose of meeting an appointment for preaching. Orange, at that time, was an inconsiderable village, the houses sparingly distributed along one main street . . . The place of worship for the Methodists was Masonic Hall. At my first appointment the attendance was large, many attracted by my youth, I being at that time but eighteen years of age. The occasion, I remember, was one of remarkable interest by reason of the signal display of divine power during the preaching. A number presented themselves as subject for prayer. This was the commencement of a gracious revival of religion. I can never forget the sensation that was produced the next day, when engaged in visiting from house to house, women and children would flee at my approach, as though I were a ravenous reptile; for as a Methodist preacher, I was readily distinguishable, nor will this surprise you, when you learn that I wore the regulation attire which consisted of a single breasted round coat, vest well buttoned to the neck, neckerchief of large dimensions, minus shirtcollar (collars were called the devil's ears), lowcrowned, broad-brimmed white hat, so that a Methodist preacher with his saddle bags and horse was always recognisable."

A hundred pages are directed to brief historical sketches of nearly three hundred churches in the Newark Conference. This section is valuable from a reference point of view, since the Methodist Church was not included in the inventories of church records published by the Historic Records Survey in New Jersey in 1941. The brevity of the sketches has not prevented the introduction of lively details.

The most astonishing story is that of the first Methodist church built in Sussex County, at Frankfort Plains. Built in 1800 to replace a frame building acquired from the Lutherans before 1787, it was opposite the site of the original 1710 log meeting house of the Lutherans.

"Seats on the right were reserved for ladies; those on the left for gentlemen. Each kept to his own side, even entering the building by separate doors. Part of this building was placed on land of the adjoining farm so the owner claimed half of the church and wanted it opened to all denominations. The Methodists threatened to move it a few feet onto their property and the Free Church Party did likewise. To prevent this each party chained it to posts or trees on his property. There was talk of sawing the church building in two. The trouble was not settled until the farm was purchased by Mr. Haggerty who let the Methodists control the church they had built. Bishop Asbury, Jesse Lee and Robert Strawbridge sometimes preached here."

Clearly this is a book to be commended to many for its interest, for the records it contains, for its inspiring story of ordinary folk and dedicated leaders working together joyfully against great obstacles for the glory of God.

—Miriam Studley.

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